14.25 hrs.

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

[*English*]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now we shall take up item No. 8 namely, Motion of Thanks on the President's Address. Shri Buta Singh will move his motion.

[*Translation*]

SHRI BUTA SINGH (Jalore) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, with your permission I would like to move the following Motion :—

> That an Address be presented to the President in the following terms :—
>
> "That the Members of the Lok Sabha assembled in this session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both Houses of Parliament assembled together on the 11th July, 1991."

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the present Lok Sabha has been constituted in a tragic and painful atmosphere. I welcome all the Hon. Members with a heavy and broken heart. The present Lok Sabha elections have been unprecedented in our Parliamentary history. We had hoped that we would return to the Lok Sabha with a new spirit after the Ninth Lok Sabha. But it did not happen. The mood and thinking of the people has been reflected in the present composition of the House to which our Hon. Prime Minister as well as the other Members had referred in their speeches yesterday. It was a new experience and the present Lok Sabha will have to function keeping this experience in view. Service to the Nation is foremost for all of us and above all it is the very existence of the Nation which is at stake at present and we have been witness to it during the elections. Nation is faced with a serious threat to its unity, integrity, existence and sovereignty which has been witnessed during the elections. It has been seen for the first time in the Lok Sabha elections. That is why, I call the present Lok Sabha election as unprecedented. This is unprecedented in the history too. We struggled hard against these odds and reached here by virtue of well considered public opinion in our favour. Our country's unity, integrity, sovereignty and future are above our party's interests, irrespective of in howsoever high esteem we hold our party. If our country is safe, the policies and idelogies of the parties can be set right. But on the other hand, if it is not safe and we cause harm to the nation through our party's policies the future generation shall not forgive us.

Therefore, I would express my views before this House in the context of the circumstances referred to by our Hon. President in the very first sentence of his address. He said that we have assembled here in the House in a very tragic and painful atmosphere. With the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi we have lost a great leader, Messiah of poor people, heart throb of the youth of the country, a promising leader, a great visionary and a great champion of world peace. The Hon. President in his Address has said that in the present circumstances we, the elected representatives of this House, have the responsibility to strive to create an atmosphere through our deeds and through the functioning of the House, that such an incident in which we lost a great son of India should not recur. I am sure the present Government will fully address itself to its duties. It is not the duty of the ruling party alone but it is the duty of all the parties. The views expressed by the great opposition leaders while paying their homage to late Shri Rajiv Gandhi show that all of us are committed to root out the violence and end the atmosphere of confrontation in the country. I feel that the present Lok Sabha will do something concrete to create peaceful atmosphere in the country.

I recall here the maiden speech of Dr. Baba Saheb Ambedkar, which he had made in the constituent Assembly. The atmosphere of the country at that time was similar to the present one, the Constituent Assembly of our country was constituted, partition had taken place. There was blood-shed all over the country. He had said in his speech that it seemed as if,

[*English*]

"The warring camp people are sitting here together."

[*Translation*]

Even today in the country from Jammu-Kashmir to Assam a dreadful atmosphere is prevailing. This atmosphere has been created in the name of communalism, casteism, fundamentalism and secessionism and it seems that some people even go to the extent of disintegrating the country in the name of caste, commmunty and religion. Lok Sabha has been constituted in this atmosphere. The people have given a chance to our party. Yesterday our Hon. Prime Minister explained in clear words as to what expectations he has from this House. He also said that Government would put forth a programme and cooperation of all the parties would be sought to implement that programme. Hon. President has also referred to this programme in his Address. Before expressing my views on the Government's alternative programmes put before the House and the nation in the Presidential Address. I would like to submit one point. I am sure that this House will appreciate the point that I am going to make. We are fortunate that at the time of this national tragedy, a great personality, a great person was the head of the nation who saved the nation from a great catastrophe. I have come to know that 3-4 hours after the assassination of Shri Rajiv Gandhi, when the Prime Minister of our country, was out of Delhi, our President did not merely functioned as a formal President but he functioned like an Executive President, which helped us to maintain law and order even in the wake of such a big tragedy. All the credit goes to our esteemed President. Shri Venkataraman, who is not only an experienced policy-maker, a religious-minded person but also a top administrator of international repute. It is our good fortune that a great administrator is our Head of the State, who has served as President and Member of United Nations Administrative Tribunal for 24 years. This experience came in good stead and saved the country. If we remember what happened in 1984, anything could have happened in this country at this time. There could have been large scale violence and blood-shed following the cruel assassination of such a great leader. Had our honourable President not taken control of the whole situation of the country during those crucial four hours and not put the administrators on alert, the situation would have definitely worsened. He was fully conscious of his duty and he saved the country from disaster. I wish the House to express its gratitude to him as he saved the country at the time of several crisis.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, we have before us the Address delivered by the Honourable President. In his Address, he has, on the one hand given a call to the entire nation to be ready to face the crisis and on the other hand he has enumerated Government's policies to deal with the burning problems of the country. In his Address he has hardly left any aspect and has provided his guidance about each and every aspect. He has clearly hinted at the policies of the present Government. As I said in the beginning that with the assassination of Shri Rajiv Gandhi, violence in the country is on the increase, which has caused great loss to the countrymen. The President has also touched upon this point. He has also said that violence was continuing unabated in Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir and Assam. Sir, the House is fully aware as to how innocent people continue to be killed in Punjab for the last seven years. Thousands of people have lost their lives. Barrel of the gun still dominates in Punjab these days. Even today the killings are going on unabated. The political situation has been changing from time to time. In spite of the fact that the whole nation and the House have been cooperating with the Government to solve this problem, we have not been able to find a solution to this problem. It is not possible to claim that solution to this problem will be found very soon. Terrorism is a posing problem in other countries also, whether they are advanced or developing ones. I can cite the example of many advanced countries of the world where these problems exist and we have been witnessing them for the last two decades. These problems are there for the last 20—25 years but we should not feel disappointed. It is not a problem of a border State alone. But the problem is linked with the sentiments of the people, who have always considered themselves to be the defenders of this country and in fact they have the capability. They are remembered as the great patriots of this country, and they are a part and parcel of our country. The existence of the entire nation, the future of the entire nation is at stake. Therefore, I can't accept that there can be any difference of opinion on Punjab problem from political point of view. I don't even agree that anybody wants to make political capital out of the Punjab problem.

The greatest tragedy of the Punjab problem is that the present situation is even worse than it was two years ago. We were struggling hard to find solution to Punjab in 1989 and then this problem was confined to only two border districts of Punjab. I remember in 1989, there were only three Tehsils, one in district Gurdaspur and the other two were in Amritsar. There was peaceful atmosphere in all the remaining twelve districts, and because of that we could conduct Lok Sabha elections. Unfortunately, all of a sudden following the Lok Sabha Elections, in 1990 the situation reversed, and violence and terrorism engulfed the entire State. I need not give more figures because the House is well aware of these. During the entire year of 1989, 1668 people were killed whereas in 1990 the number rose to 2273. This terrible situation deteriorated further. In 1976 the number of terriorists arrested was 2466, whereas in 1990 the number was 1561. It proves that the pressure on terrorists and anti-national elements almost ended in 1990 and the number of killed increased. There was slackness on the part of Government and the number of arrests came down to half. You must know that when you are taking security measures in some state or any part of the country, any laxity in dealing with anti-national elements can prove dangerous. It is learnt that both the then Prime Ministers and the Prime Minister who succeeded him claimed that they did what was not done during the past forty years.

It is learnt that he did not consult anybody nor did he take the House into confidence. The Honourable Members sitting here did raise this matter and demanded that if there had been a dialogue a statement in regard thereto should be made in the House. Entire country should be taken into confidence as regards the principles on which dialogue has been initiated but there was no reply. Immediately preceding that announcement regarding elections in Punjab was made. At the time of announcement also we had a dialogue with other parties, and asked the Government to clarify its stand on two basic issues regarding elections in Punjab and unless it was done elections in Punjab would not serve any purpose. The first point was that the elements who agreed to participate in the elections in Punjab and who claimed to represent the Sikhs, irrespective of the group to which they belonged made it clear that the issue in the Punjab elections would be whether Punjab was to remain as a part of India or not and thus it would be a plebiscite on this issue. On behalf of our party, we warned the then Prime Minister, the Chief Election Commissioner, Honourable President and all others that it was going to be the most dangerous thing, unless any decision regarding this was taken, we would not like to put a question mark on the sovereignty of our country. If we allow this in Punjab, this demand can be raised in other parts of India. So we demanded that first of all the unity and sovereignty of the country should remain intact, only then we would like to go for the elections. But there was no reply from the Government, but on the contrary the Chief Election Commissioner ignoring our view point announced the elections.

Next point was that the Governor of Punjab had sent a written report to the Government that if elections were to be held in Punjab, they did have sufficient security forces to manage them. It was his first report. Subsequently other reports followed, 3-4 reports were obtained from him and finally the Honourable Governor insisted that elections must be held in any case

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the opposition parties cooperated with us to a large extent. We had a detailed discussion and it appeared that all the political parties of the country which believed in unity and solidarity of the country, in the democracy and secularism may join hands to fight the elections. Talks were quite hopeful. But unfortunately no one paid attention to the fundamental issues raised by the Congress Party. The Congress Party was adament not to take part in election if it was going to be Plebiscite but the Central Government and the Punjab administration did not take any note. And all this made us to stay away from the election process. The elections in Punjab were postponed at the last moment. The Congress had taken a decision not to take part in the elections in Punjab and the party still stands by this decision. The leaders of BJP are issuing statements in favour of holding elections in the State, but none of them has spoken a single word about the issue raised by me. For the knowledge of Shri Advaniji I would like to repeat that all the parties who claim to represent the Sikh Community declared that they would take part in this election treating it as plebiscite but no action was taken by the Government and the Administration. Therefore, the Congress Party decided not to take part in this election and these elections have been postponed at the last moment. Only two days back an Hon. Ex-Prime Minister said that elections in the state had been postponed. Mr. Chairman, Sir, can I raise a question that the day when the decision of postponing the election in Punjab was announced, extremists published a statement, which they termed as thtir ordinance, in all the newspapers of Punjab, and in some newspapers of Delhi also that all the ballot boxes should remain empty and if any one dares to go to a polling booth to cast his vote he will do so on his own risk. I am not narrating the reaction of the people of Punjab, who are terrified, the reaction of the Punjab administration. Responding to that ordinance the Punjab Administration announced closure of all schools and colleges and non-operation of all public transport services. Who was the first to comply with the ordinance ? It was the Punjab Administration. The state administration surrendered in the wake of ordinance issued by the extremists. So, may I ask : 'who is responsible for holding elections ?' I am not going into the issue as to who ordered the elections or who ordered the postponment of elections in Punjab. The fact remains that the people of Punjab are so terrified, that till they are assured of their own safety and that of their family none will dare to cast his vote in the elections. Do you feel that under these circumstances the elections can be conducted in the State ? I don't think so. Sir, unfortunately the conditions in Punjab are so bad that the national newspapers have turned a blind eye towards the happenings in the state and the newspapers in the state care more for the orders of the factions and groups of the extremists. Whenever any letter or telephone call is received from them by any newspaper's office, their dictates are published in the very next day's paper alongwith the source.

I would like to briefly highlight the conditions prevailing in Punjab. The presence of the Government's authority is nominal and the terrorists are having a field day in whole of the State, without facing any checks. This fact is being admitted by the Punjab Administration also. They are increasingly attacking the security personnel and moving freely in the cities and villages in the guise of the personnel of the security forces, indulging in massacres by stopping running trains and looting banks. The family members of the people fighting secessionism are being abducted and looted. and the family members of the people posted by the previous Governments for security are being liquidated. Middle rank officers do not care for the Government orders and pay monthly allowance to the secessionist groups whose writ runs large. These officers not only care for the orders of the secessionist groups, but even issue circular in accordance with their wishes. Many village panchayats have been instructed to appoint informers and bear their expenses, to provide information to the extremists about the movements and positioning of the security forces, as also to provide information about the patriotic persons living in the villages and about the workers of the Congress (I), CPI and CPI(M) living in the villages .. (*Interruptions*) I am talking of villages and village panchayats. .. (*Interruptions*) Gentleman, please listen to me. In cities the conditions are so bad that extremists roam about freely and attack the unarmed people visiting parks, temples, mosques and gurudwaras during the time of sunset and sunrise with automatic weapons. People are being attacked and nobody cares. Youths are being exhorted to join the terrorists ranks in the villages by holding meetings and are being inducted in the various outfits. Pakistan is supplying sophisticated arms and also infiltrating the terrorists trained by that country.

Another condemnable phenomenon gaining prominence is the holding of bhog ceremonies on the killings of dreaded terrorists. These bhog ceremonies are attended by 50 to 60 thousand people and even one lakh. Trollies are forcibly requisitioned for transporting people and in their presence the killed terrorists are praised. Lakhs of rupees are collected as donations from them. Such are the conditions in Punjab. This is very unfortunate the that administration is thinking of launching the "Win of Hearts" policy. Undoubtedly every possible endeavour should be made to bring back the perverted youths to the main stream. earlier referred to the talks held with a few leaders of these outfits by the then Hon. Prime Minister. May I presume that the Hon. Prime Minister in his talks with these leaders had told them to declare their faith in the Indian Constitution? Even when we initiated dialogues on the issues of

Mizoram, Tripura, Assam and Darjeeling, the precondition was the acceptance of national sovereignty and declaration of allegiance to the Constitution. No body has got reservation about the initiating dialogue with them. But in the elections the secret arrangement of seats or accommodating such forces will lead to disintegration of the country. Unfortunately such reports appeared in some newspapers. But no such thing has been neither stated by any political party nor raised in the House. The President of India did refer to these things in his Address, which I have reiterated. I would like to quote from his Address to the Joint sitting of the both the Houses.

> "Government is committed to restore normalcy and to start the democratic process in Punjab at the earliest. However, militants and Secessionists will not be allowed to misuse the elections for their ends. Government stands by the Rajiv-Longowal Accord. Negotiations are always possible with those who eschew violence and accept the farmework of our constitution."

This is the declaration of the present Government to my mind, this is the collective national endeavour of the national political parties having representation in the House and of the political parties of Punjab. I think all of them will lend all out support to the Government. In 1989, the Congress party had reached a decisive stage while treading along this policy and there was no other alternative. I hope every help will be extended to the Hon. Prime Minister in finding a solution to this national problem. I am happy to note that the Government proposes to incorporate such provisions in the Peoples Representation Act through amendment. As per my information, these amendments have already been moved in the Rajya Sabha, but no such initiative has been taken in this House. This issue was earlier raised by the Hon. Prime Minister at a party meeting. With the cooperation of all the political parties, an initiative will be taken to streamline the election process so as to strengthen the importance of national unity, integrity and sovereignty. Election process should be started all over again to facilitate the participation of every political party, so as to collectively counter the threat being posed to the nation.

15.00 hrs.

Through this House, I call upon all concerned, irrespective of their party affiliation, who have faith in this principle to help revive the electoral process in Punjab.

In the next paragraph the Hon. President has referred to the situation prevailing in Jammu and Kashmir. With a slight difference, the situation in Jammu and Kashmir is as serious as that of Punjab and calls for the cooperation of the entire country for a solution. I am of the view that all the political parties and national leaders present in this House should make every effort to see that in Jammu and Kashmir also we join hands to keep the unity and integrity of the nation uppermost in our minds, so that there could be some improvement in the prevailing situation. On 12th February, 1990 the Governor issued an ordinance and dissolved the Assambly in Jammu and Kashmir. It was the only institution between the people and the terrorists and secessionist elements and through this it was possible to establish political contact with the people. The elected representatives used to go to the people and hear them. Matters of public importance used to be discussed in the Assambly which served as a forum for this purpose. A number of agencies were working alongwith the Assembly. Development agencies were also involved.

PROF. PREM DHUMAL : The same thing which you did in Punjab in 1987 has taken place in Kashmir also.

SHRI BUTA SINGH : You were not there at that time. I am referring to what is happening there today. You have been elected twice but could not do anything. The person whom you considered to be your leader spoke against your policies but you could not do anything against him. Shri Devi Lal had declared that he would not allow abrogation of Article 370 of the Constitution. Even then you did not part company. Our policy is very clear, I am talking of your support which has resulted in a direct confrontation between the administration and the terrorists in the State today. The people could not be involved as much as they should have been. Political parties have become non-existent. They do not appear to be playing any role. But the Punjab situation is different. In Punjab the political parties are fighting, whereas in the Valley they have become non-existent. Today the situation in the Valley is such that thousands of families have migrated to other places. About 55,000 families have migrated to Jammu, Delhi and other parts of the country. It appears that they have reconciled with the circumstances. People whom you extended support did months' rule. Even then you continued not do anything during their ten months' rule. Even than you continued to extend your support to them. Therefore, we should not view this problem on party lines only, but should view it in the national perspective. I am here to make this submission to you. The number of the trained militants in the Valley is increasing day by day. Incidents of attacks on security forces have been on the rise. As I said just now, about 55,000 families have already left the Valley. The local forces who were of some help have succumbed to the threat of the militants. Not a single report can be published about them. Many cooked up stories are being spread against India and a lot is being said against the security forces which perform their duties at the cost of their lives. Words like barbaric, beasts etc. are being used against them. The reports being published in newspapers from Srinagar are finding their echo in Pakistan, London and the U.S.A. India is facing challenges on many fronts. Hence in regard to this burning issue, I would like to submit that we should unite . . . .

AN HON. MEMBER : What action is being taken in respect of the 55,000 families ?

SHRI BUTA SINGH : I have just made a mention of it. I am still speaking. It is my humble request to the august House that with all our efforts and co-operation we should extend our full support to the Government to solve this problem, a mention of which has been made in the President's Address so that with combined strength and co-operation the Government could tackle this problem effectively and firmly. One full paragraph of the President's Address deals with this situation as to how the Government is trying hard to tackle this difficult problem.

AN HON. MEMBER : There is no mention of these 55,000 families in the President's Address.

SHRI BUTA SINGH : You do not want that I should provide this information also to you. It will serve no purpose if I simply read it. Whatever information is to be given, is given in the House. The President gives hints, guidelines as to what the Government has to do. You should give your suggestions in this regard. We have come here after having been elected and it is our duty to present before the Government all the facts with full details and then only some solution to the problem could be found out. Sir, I am not here to conduct any orientation course. I wished that I should have participated in lectures in the orientation course to the newly elected Members in the Parliament House Annexe. The Hon. Members will agree with me.

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA (Madhubani) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, there is no need of any suggestion, but if Shri Buta Singhji permits, I would like to know from him if he would like to accept amendments which he may deem fit ?

SHRI BUTA SINGH : Sir, I think about one thousand amendments have been printed and circulated among the Members. All these amendments are before the Government. They will be studied and at the time policy is framed, all the issues referred to in the President's Address and also the amendments will be given due consideration, I can say this much.

Sir, so far I know, today the entire administration in Jammu and Kashmir has been totally paralysed. I have come to know that the employees are so much terrorised that they gave a call for a week' bandh. From their charter of demands it appears that they have demanded the same thing which the terrorists wanted and have given a call for the bandh accordingly. The bandh was complete. It proves that just as the terrorists in Punjab have kept the whole administration in their grip, the militants in Jammu and Kashmir have taken over the command of administration in Jammu and Kashmir. They have made very undue demands and the administration bowed to them. They resorted to 72 hour strike. Who is to blame for this. The incapable people wasted 15 months' time and went away. The Congress Party has always worked with full responsibility. It has never lagged behind from fulfilling its responsibility. (*Interruptions*). The most difficult thing is that if I start exposing the incapable people, some of whom are sitting here, you may not like to meet them any more.

SHRI CHANDRAJEET YADAV (Azamgarh) : While moving the Motion of Thanks, you should exercise some restraint on your language. If this is the difference between the Prime Minister's speech, how will the things work? You are a senior Member.

SHRI BUTA SINGH : Sir, I would like to know the sense of the august House in regard to the condition of the administration I related just now. What can be said in respect of the State whose administration was kept paralysed for a week on their call and yet no action has been taken in this regard. In view of what I have said above, I would like the House to extend its full cooperation to all the future proposals that would be brought forward by the Government, in the wider national interest. Then only this national problem can be solved.

(*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur) : On your terms.

[*Translation*]

SHRI BUTA SINGH : Terms have been made clear in the President's Address.

Sir, it was only yesterday that the Hon. Prime Minister referred in the House the efforts made by all the political parties to solve the Assam problem. As such I would not like to go into those details. The State has its own Government and the Chief Minister of the State is also trying to find out a solution to the problem with the co-operation of all the political parties. On behalf of the House we may extend our good wishes to them so that some wayout is found by the centre to solve the vexed and most difficult Assam problem.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, six of the nine points which Congress Party had made a promise during the elections particularly that part of the manifesto which specified the work that would be done in the first three months, have been covered in the President's Address and the remaining three points will, I am sure, be covered when the Hon. Minister of Finance presents the Budget. (*Interruptions*) Only a few days have passed. The government has indicated their priorities. (*Interruptions*) .. about which the Hon. President has made a mention in his address. Sir, in his address he has also referred to the communal situation in the country and besides this, he also mentioned that special courts will be constituted throughout the country to look into the cases of victims of communal riots and a special force will also be formed. Sir, I have some experience in this regard. Whenever some communal riots take place, the local police is always viewed with suspicion by the people. None of the parties, who are involved in these riots, are ever satisfied with the local police. Therefore, whenever some central force was sent there to control these riots, people had some confidence in them and the Central Forces helped a lot in controlling the situation. I will not specifically refer to the local police of any particular state, because Shri Chandra Jeet Yadav may perhaps be angry with me.

SHRI CHANDRA JEET YADAV: I was not showing any anger.

SHRI BUTA SINGH : Therefore, the Government has announced that a special force will be formed. The other details such as its composition, duties and manner of its deployment have also been mentioned in it. This is a very important announcement made by the Hon. President in this Address.

Besides this, whatever the Hon. President has said in regard to the Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid dispute is based on the basic policy of the Congress Party. This dispute should be solved through negotiations and besides this he also said that such disputes may always disturb the law and order situation in our country and may lead to bloodshed on any occasion as we have a lot of festivals round the year. Therefore, with a view to eliminate the possibility of such a situation for all times to come, he has mentioned that such a step should be taken through this House so that *status quo* of all the places of worship is maintained as on 15th August, 1947. Sir, like this .. (*Interruptions*) .. The security forces of our country which are responsible for maintaining the law and order situation in the country, have been put to a lot of strain in the recent times. They have been exposed to a lot of violence, communal riots, casteism riots and regional disputes and at such places, the personnel of the Central forces have to sacrifice their lives also. The Government has also promised that full security will be provided to them regarding their lives and service conditions.

Sir, the present economic crisis in our country is unprecedented. Regarding the economic crisis. I would like to say that in the last few years, whether it were the State Governments or the Governments, of the Centre, they had only opted for soft options, instead of hard options. They never took harsh measures. I would like to prove it with the help of the Budgets presented by the previous State Governments that they made all efforts to put the entire burden on the Centre and imposed no new taxes so that they could get majority of votes in the next elections. As a result .. (*Interruptions*) .. You are also on the safe side. We can present even your Budget. What should I do ? When they provoke me on such issues I am compelled to tell the truth. It is proved by the budgets of all the States, one may look into any of the State Budgets, soft options have been adopted in all of them. But the Government of India, under the leadership of late Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, Shrimati Indira Gandhi and Shri Rajiv Gandhi, earlier and today, under the leadership of Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao. is always ready to take the most stringent and harsh measures and will definitely take such measures. We have always given top priority to the nation. We have never cared about our period of stay in power. Although we know that signing of accords with regard to Assam problem, Punjab problem and Mizoram will harm the interests of the Congress Party, yet we signed them, because we found the interests of our Nation far above the interests of the Congress Party and always took those decisions which safeguarded the interests of our Nation. Even today, the steps being taken by the Finance Minister, the Hon. Prime Minister and his colleagues under the present circumstances are being taken in a very unprecendented situation. It needs lot of courage. Yesterday, Shri Indrajit Gupta had said that perhaps Congress party had compromised the basic principles. Sir, the only identity of Congress Party in this country is that it always holds the interests of the people of this country uppermost. Mahatma Gandhi, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, Shrimati Indira Gandhi and Shri Rajiv Gandhi had always held the interests of the people of this country uppermost in their minds in the true sense .. (*Interruptions*) .. Today also .. (*Interruptions*) .. Yes, Shri Lal Bahadur Shashtri also .. (*Interruptions*) .. Even today the Congress is known for the fact that its supporters are there in every village and the Congress ideology is followed in the entire country. No other ideology is so widely spread as the Congress ideology. This composition and consensus has taken place only due to it. The ideology of the Congress includes removal of poverty and disparity in the society, providing support to the neglected classes and maintaining the unity, integrity and sovereignty of our country. Mr. Chairman, Sir, there should not be any doubt in the mind of any Hon. Leader and I would like to ask the leaders, who have given the slogan to finish the Congress culture, whether such leaders know the meaning of finishing the Congress culture. To do so will mean killing the very soul of our country. The culture of the Congress has got its roots in our old history and Sir, I would also like to ask my leftist colleagues who are raising some question on this issue here, whether they have been able to change the policies of the Congress in West Bengal and in Kerala, where they have been ruling for quite a long time? The land reforms about which you talk .. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SYED MASUDAL HOSSAIN (Murshidabad): Prohibition has been the policy of the Congress Party. But recently, when tax on wine and liquor was raised in the Budget of West Bengal, the Congress M.L.As. boycotted the Budget. Is it in conformity with the policy of the Congress Party?

SHRI RAJENDRA AGNIHOTRI (Jhansi) : Is everything in the country or in Kashmir, taking place according to the policy of the Congress?

SHRI BUTA SINGH : While serving the country, whether the Congress Members sit in the opposition or occupy the treasury benches, the basic policies of the Congress are the very soul of this country and the Congress has always been working according to them. The Congress has been following the policies of secularism and socialism. It is not working under any one's pressure. Sir, it is due to the policies of the Congress that the identity of our country has been established in the world. Due to the policies of Congress Party our country has got recognition in the international politics. The policies of the Congress which it has been following are hundreds of years old. There are many such parties which were once part of the Congress, but left it and came to power, but even they could not deviate from the Congress policies as those policies are the policies of the country.

As such there should be no doubt about it. There should be no such demand. The people who made a demand to finish the Congress culture have not suggested any alternative.

They have no such alternative with them. The people making such demands do not know the direction to which they are taking the people. So far no alternative to Congress has been suggested. Of course, people have asked for votes so that they could provide an alternative to the Congress Party, but no such alternative has yet been found.

Besides, in this hour of economic crises, as has been indicated by the Hon. President in his Address, we should carry all the people with us. While intervening in the debate, yesterday itself, the Hon. Prime Minister made it clear that he will always carry the people with him. He further assured that he will not only resolve the present crises but also make every efforts to boost the country's image in the international politics.

Sir, India has always supported the developing countries in international politics. We have our policy of non-alignment in this regard. We have close ties with the developing countries and the Hon. President has clearly spelt it in his Address that we will carry all these countries with us. In addition, industrial and agricultural production and the role of the public sectors in the country have also been mentioned in the President's Address. I am of the view that this year's foodgrain production by the farmers in the country has been the highest since independence. For this achievement I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to the farmers and thank them. I hope that the Government will extend necessary assistance to the farmers to increasing their production by using modern methods of science and technology. We will welcome any policy to be framed by the Government for this. At the same time I would like to add that the agriculture labourers should also be extended all help along with farmers. At many places viz : Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and most parts of Eastern Uttar Pradesh the agriculture labourers are not getting minimum wages even today. We will extend our full support to Government to give remunerative prices to the farmers for their produce. While the farmers should get remunerative prices, the standard of living of the labourers should also improve alongwith the farmers. I hope that the Government will take suitable measures in this regard. (*Interruptions*)

In the President's Address the Government have made a mention of many commendable steps to be taken for the youth, women, the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes in the country. I would like to congratulate the Government for the same. With the announcement of setting up of a Backward Classes Development Corporation, the neglected sections of the society will be encouraged a lot. The Government will also do an excellent job by providing legal status to the Minorities Commission. Arrangements should be made to provide drinking water all over the country and a comprehensive plan in the name of Shri Rajiv Gandhi should be launched so that thirsty people and the villages experiencing shortage of water could get water. If this is done, it would be the best tribute to Shri Rajiv Gandhi. Finally, I would like to read out the last paragraph in which the Hon. President has expressed some hope. He has some expectations from we, the Members of Parliament. I am going to read out his words agains. I should be excused for making a repetition.

"The crisis with which we are confronted today makes this session of Parliament a particularly important one. You must give the lead and set the tone which will instil confidence in our people and enthuse them i the task of nation building. You have before you the historic task of building a strong and prosperous India. a humane India, an India where there is social harmony and communal amity, an India from which poverty has been eradicated, an India based on equality and social justice."

Let me assure the Hon. President that the expectations he has called upon from we, the Members of Parliament, will be reflected in our speeches and our style of functioning in the house. The Hon. Members should rise above their party lines. In this connection I would, particularly, like to say a few words to the leader of the opposition. He is not only the leader of his own party but also the leader of the opposition. At times when he makes taunting remarks, he should keep in mind that he is speaking on behalf of all. Therefore, I feel that when speaking about the policies of his own party, the leader of opposition is at liberty to say anything he likes, but, when he speaks in the national and international for his speech should appear like the speech of the leader of opposition. I hold him in high esteem. His patriotism is unquestionable. I am very grateful to this House and with these words I move the Motion before the House. I hope that all the Hon. Members will unanimously pass this Motion. The amendments that have been printed and distributed, I am sure, will be consider by the Government at appropriate time.

[*English*]

SHRI RAMESH CHENNITHALA (Kottayam) : Mr. Chairman Sir, I am seconding the motion moved by Sardar Buta Singhji. At the outset, I am expressing deep gratitude towards our Hon. President of India who was kind enough to pinpoint the issues which are facing the nation as well as to pinpoint the responsibilities of the Members of Parliament at this crucial juncture. The President's Address is a statement, stating what the Government intend to do in the next one year.

Sir, our country is passing through a very difficult situation. During the elections we lost our great leader Shri Rajiv Gandhi. The son of the soil. Shri Rajiv Gandhi was the champion of world peace. As one of the leaders expressed here, he was the champion of the downtrodden, poor and toiled masses of India. The younger generation of the country felt orphaned by the sad demise of the great leader. At this crucial juncture all the Congressmen should stand together to face the challenges which are before the nation and the party. At this time, it is the duty of all of us in this August House to fulfil the dreams of our late leader Shri Rajiv Gandhi.

15.32 hrs.

[SHRI SHARAD DIGHE *in the Chair*]

In yesterday's newspaper a news has been published in which the LTTE has said that they are responsible for the heinous assassination of Shri Rajiv Gandhi. Therefore, I request the Government of India to contact the Srilankan Government and discover the whole plot and expedite the investigation.

Sir, we are committed to fulfil the dreams, aspirations and ideals of Shri Rajiv Gandhi. In this election, the mandate of the people of this country is very clear. The people of this country have realised that only the Congress Party can give a strong and viable Government. Of course, the people of India have also cautioned us. In the past we had a massive majority. But in this election even though we are less of 10, 12 votes the mandate is very clear. The people of this nation had expected much from the combined opposition, the national alternative which ruled for the last eleven months, under the leadership of Shri VP Singh. The people of this country had given a chance to the combined opposition. But, they spoiled everything. During the Prime Ministership of VP Singh, the communal situation was so tense; lot of communal riots have taken place; amity and communal harmony was disturbed like anything. So, people lost their faith in the national alternative. Communal violence unleashed and tensions were the order of the day at that time. The Government had failed on all fronts.

So, the people of this country have been convinced and they have realised that the Congress Party can only lead this nation and that the Congress is the only party which can give a strong and viable Government. Of course, the people have cautioned us also.

Now, we are not for confrontation; we are for consensus. Our country is facing a lot of challenges; a lot of problems are there. Only Congress alone cannot solve these problems. So, all the parties should come together to solve these problems. We have to think about the solution of the problems which are confronting the nation. We have to see the position of the situation also. We have to see the attitudes that are taken by other opposition parties. At this critical juncture, we must be more practical. BJP is ruling in three States—Madhya Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and Rajasthan. (*Interruptions*).

AN HON. MEMBER : What happened to UP ? (*Interruptions*).

SHRI RAMESH CHENNITHALA : Yes, I agree, in UP also they are ruling. What about the result of the elections in MP ? We got 28 out of 40 seats. In Rajasthan, we got 20 out of 25 seats. In Himachal Pradesh, we got two out of 4 seats. We lost one seat only by a margin of 3,000 votes. What is the message ? (*Interruptions*). When the people of these States experienced your administration they are expressing their dissatisfaction. I think that it is the moral duty of the three Chief Ministers to quit on moral grounds. They have to resign because they are rejected by the people of these States. (*Interruptions*) Who is responsible for the growth of the BJP ? We are not responsible.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur) : All this bravado will not work.

SHRI RAMESH CHENNITHALA : You are responsible for the (Bolpur): All this bravado will not sible by the people. (*Interruptions*). In the Eighth Lok Sabha, the BJP got only two seats. In the Ninth Lok Sabha, they got 88 seats. (*Interruptions*). Now they are the number two party. Who is responsible for this? (*Interruptions*). Only the Left parties are responsible for this.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: You joined hands with them. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI RAMESH CHENNITHALA : You have to change the anti-Congress attitude. (*Interruptions*).

MR. CHAIRMAN : One minute please.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN : I would not like any interruptions.

SHRI PIUS TIRKEY (Alipurduar) : I am on a point of order. (*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please sit down.

(*Interruptions*) .

MR. CHAIRMAN : No running commentary and no interruption like this please.

(*Interruptions*)

MR. CHAIRMAN : You address the Chair.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI PIUS TIRKEY : I am on a point of order.

MR. CHAIRMAN : When your turn comes, then you can speak.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI PIUS TIRKEY : I have a point of order.

MR. CHAIRMAN : No point of order please.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAMESH CHENNITHALA: The democratic and peace loving parties can come together and face these challenges. (*Interruptions*) It is duty cast upon us. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: You must hear what is his point of order. You just cannot ignore it. This is not the way to conduct this House. (*Interruptions*) I am very sorry. He is saying that he has got a point of order. (*Interruptions*) You can reject it. You can rule it out. But you must listen to what is the point of order. You are an experienced Chairman.

MR CHAIRMAN : Yes, Mr. Pius Tirkey.

SHRI PIUS TIRKEY : My point of order is that we are now speaking on the President's Address. The President has never spoken on the conduct of the parties whether it is the BJP or the CPM or any other party. Now the Hon. Member is pointing out which party has done what. He is in the ruling party now. Many Hon. Members are here representing various constituencies. How the Congress people ruled the country for 40 years is well known to everybody. Now he is blaming this party or that party. Why does not he say something about Tripura ? He should have began from Tripura, how the tribal people are living here.

MR. CHAIRMAN : There is no point of order. I reject your point of order.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: That is all right.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAMESH CHENNITHALA: I am stating the facts. We have to fight against the communal forces. We have to fight against the separatist forces. (*Interruptions*) We must fight together against such forces. We have lost our leaders, Shrimati Indira Gandhi and Shri Rajiv Gandhi. We will continue our fight against the separatist forces who are trying to disintegrate our country and who are trying to create chaos and confusion in this country.

Sir, the present economic crisis is clearly in the President's Address. The Address has explained the situation in the economic field. We are in the midst of a crisis. It is clearly stated that "No sacrifice is too great to safeguard our economic independence and the country must prepare itself to take hard and unpleasant economic decisions." There is no magic in this; we have to face these realities. It may of course, pain and hurt but there is no other way. The measures in this regard are also mentioned in the President's Address. The RBI has also brought about an adjustment in the exchange rate in order help exports reduce expenditure on inessential imports, etc. It is also mentioned that concerted measures are to be taken in the areas of trade policy and industrial policy reform to enhance our exports .. (*Interruptions*) .. At this critical juncture, has mentioned that price raise has to be checked. I am congratulating our Hon. Prime Minister for forming a Ministerial panel to check the price rise .

Yesterday, our Hon. Minister mentioned about the public distribution system. Our public distribution system is defective. It should be revamped.

[*Translation*]

SHRI DILEEP BHAI SANGHANI (Amreli) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am on a point of order. When an Hon. Member is speaking on the floor of the House one should not pass between the Chair and the Member. This is the rule and Shri Buta Singh who is a senior Member of the House is passing between the Chair and the Hon. Member who is speaking and thus, not abiding by the rule. This is against the rule and that is my point of order.

[*English*]

MR. CHAIRMAN : You are right. But there is no point of order. You are only mentioning about the decorum of the House.

(*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

AN HON. MEMBER : Butta Singh ji, you may please apologise.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI BUTA SINGH : I apologise.

[*English*]

I am too senior a Member to flout rules like that. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI RAMESH CHENNITHALA: Stern action should be taken on the hoarders, blackmarketeers and profiteers. The biggest problem in the economic side is the external payment crisis. Steps should be taken to curtail Government expenditure. Radical change should be brought in the economy so that the poor and downtrodden will be benefited.

I would like to mention about the unemployment problem also. Future lies in the youth of this nation. Unemployment is a serious problem which has to be dealt with urgently. Employment generation programmes which were carried out by the earlier Governments should be implemented effectively. Those programmes should be reviewed; drawbacks and lacunae, if any, must be found out and should be rectified.

Involvement of youth in nation-building activities is most important. It is clearly mentioned in the Address about the measures to be taken to involve youth in the nation-building activities. My request is that in the Eighth Plan, top priority must be given to eradicate unemployment and to generate employment.

Buta Singhji has explained about the prevailing situation in Punjab, Jammu & Kashmir and Assam.

SHRI RAM NAIK (Bombay-North) : Sir, I am on a point of propriety. Motion of Thanks on the President's Address is being discussed. Neither the Prime Minister, nor the leader of the House is present in the House Even a senior cabinet Minister is not present . .

MR. CHAIRMAN : There is no point of order.

SHRI RAM NAIK : That is why I am saying that I am on a point of propriety. Propriety demands that when an important motion such as the Motion of Thanks is being discussed, the Prime Minister or the leader of the House or a senior cabinet colleague must be present.

SHRI P.M. SAYEED (Lakshadweep) : How can the Prime Minister remain here all the time ? Does he not have any other work ?

SHRI RAM NAIK : At least a Cabinet Minister should be present.

MR. CHAIRMAN : The Parliamentary Affairs Minister is here and he represents the Government.

SHRI RAM NAIK : But he is not a Cabinet Minister !

SEVERAL HON. MEMBERS : He is ! He is a Cabinet Minister.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : A Cabinet Minister is there. But he should be allowed to listen. He should not be disturbed.

SHRI RAMESH CHENNITHALA : Buta Singhji has clearly explained the situation in Punjab. The situation in Punjab is worsening day by day. He also explained why the Congress Party had decided not to participate in the elections and why Congress had withdrawn from the elections in Punjab. The Government will never allow the militants and secessionist forces to misuse the elections for their own ends. Free and fair elections are just not possible in Punjab now. First of all, conducive atmosphere should be created and then democratic process must be restored. That is the only way. Negotiations and talks should always be within the framework of our Constitution. And our Government is prepared to take all the required steps to tackle these difficult issues. The Government is in favour of a permanent settlement. It is clearly mentioned in the President's Address. But terrorism must be dealt with firmly.

In Jammu and Kashmir the law and order situation is deteriorating day by day. The trained people coming from across the boarders are creating total chaos and confusion. Kidnappings and killings are increasing like anything. Innocent people are being kidnapped. Terrorist activities are threatening the peaceful life of the people. My request is that we have to bring back these people in to the national mainstream. How can we bring them back? The real problems confronting the people in Jammu & Kashmir. These problems must be resolved. For example, unemployment is a genuine problem. People in the Valley and also in Jammu are talking about the participation and involvement of the citizens in the development activities in the State. Today what is happening? Corruption is increasing like anything. This is because the officials are not at all accountable. So, people's participation must be ensured. Communal harmony should be restored. In the Ninth Lok Sabha also, we talked much about the process of political initiative. So far no political activity is initiated in the Valley. Stern action against the secessionist forces should be taken. We are all aware of one thing. People of the Valley and people of Jammu are against the secessionist forces

They are against the secessionist forces Though it is not an easy thing, but a permanent solution should be found-out. We have to bring back the patriotic, poor people in the national mainstream. In Assam peoples' verdict is very clear. They are against the secessionist forces and they are against the terrorism. People there want to remain in the national mainstream. So, they voted Congress to power. In the last elections in Assam, 70 per cent of the people participated in the electoral process. From this it is very clear that they are against the terrorists' activities and they are against the separatist forces. Of course, talks are welcomed but not at the cost of national interest. We are solving the problems of Assam youth. I am happy to know that the Saikia Government has taken care of all these things and initiated certain measures in this direction. The major problem that we are facing is that the very fabric of our secular character is disturbed. Communal forces are vitiating the atmosphere of the country. All the peace loving and patriotic people should come together to fight against the menace of communalism.

In the President's Address it has been clearly mentioned that the rights and interest of the religious and linguistic minorities should not be compromised. The majority community has got a duty. They have to protect the minorities. That is our tradition. The majority community of our country is always protecting the interest of the minorities. That is the tradition of our country and because of this only we could maintain the secular character. For the last two or three years we are seeing how communally surcharged our areas are; how communal tensions are increasing day-by-day and how riots are taking place. It is mentioned in the President's Address that some Special Courts will be set up to try offences relating to communal riots. Specially trained force is also necessary to curtail these riots.

Yesterday it was mentioned that a negotiated settlement is necessary for the Ram Janma Bhumi Babri Masjid issue. I would say that to avoid confrontation among the communities, there should be a peaceful settlement. In the President's Address it has been mentioned that a Bill will be introduced to maintain the status quo on 15 August, 1947 in order to avoid any new controversy. Our country at this stage cannot afford to have any new controversy. Sir, people of this nation want amity, harmony and peace. Let us work together for it. No doubt we have political and idelogical differences but this nation is great. We have to work for the peaceful coexistence of the people of this nation.

I would like to mention one or two points about the international affairs. We have adhered to the foreign policy which was initiated by Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru and strengthened by Indira ji and Rajiv ji. We should strengthen our relations with South Asia on a bilateral basis. No doubt our fight against the imperialism will continue. Yesterday, one of the Hon. Members was expressing his doubt regarding this. There is no doubt about it. We will continue our fight against the imperialism and we will fight for the poor and down trodden people of the world. India has always stood for this cause. India is the champion of Non-Aligned Movement. Unfortunately, recently the NAM Movement had also failed during the Gulf war. I don't want to go into that controversy but I would like to say that we have to strengthen the NAM. We have to see that the down-trodden and poor people who are being exploited by the big powers are saved. Only through the Non-Aligned Movement we can save the third world countries.

So, our endeavour should be to strengthen the nation, to resolve the national problems and to usher the country into a new era of development and prosperity.

Thank you.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Motion moved:

"That an Address be presented to the President in the following terms :—

> 'That the Members of the Lok Sabha assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to the President for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to both House of Parliament assembled together on the 11th July, 1991'."

Hon. Members present in the House, whose amendments to the Motion of Thanks have been circulated, may, if they desire to move their amendments, send slips to the Table within 15 minutes indicating the serial numbers of the amendments they would like to move. Those amendments only will be treated as moved.

A list showing the serial numbers of amendments treated as moved will be put up on the Notice Board shortly thereafter. In case any Member finds any discrepancy in the list he may kindly bring it to the notice of the Officer at the Table without delay.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH (Chittorgarh) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, I heard with some interest the intervention by the proposer of the Motion. It unfortunately happened that neither the Leader of the House nor unfortunately the Prime Minister is present. But it is for the Government, the proposer and the seconder to determine what importance they give to the Motion.

I heard with interest also the intervention by the seconder. I had also read with great interest, His Excellency, the President's Address to the Joint Session of Parliament I say read, because it was not possible to listen to him, such were the arrangements. It has now become almost a cliche to say that the nation passes through a period of crisis. I am regrettably led to observe that the manner in which the Treasury Benches and the Government handled the occasion of the President's Address to the Joint Sitting of the Parliament does not really convince us that they themselves fully realised the import of the crisis through which the nation presently passes. This document—the Presiden't Address—is a tepid and uninspiring document with full of platitudinous waffle truths. I say with a hesitation that the President's Address to the Joint Sitting is not the President's own writing. He does not create it, but it is the Government's utterances that the President is required to read out. That is why I am led to say that this is a very tepid, uninspiring document. It is full of platitudes and waffle. It is wholly unclear about action. It is opaque on the steps to be taken.

I regret to say that it is indifferently drafted, not that the earlier Addresses by the President were great examples of drafting skills and to our great sorrow, it was presented to the Parliament with a shaming inefficiency, because in that great Hall which has seen the history of independent India, Members and visitors, who had been invited could not even hear what the President had to say.

16.00 hrs.

That is why I say that I have read this document with great interest. It is a message to the nation; it is the first Address by the President following a momentous historical election, and therefore, through this the Government of the day, and through the mouth of the President, through the agency of this Address, it conveys to the nation what the Government intends to do, how it intends to do it. That is why I am led to observe that instead of inspiring us about the Government own intentions, convincing us about the totality of the crisis that confronts the nation, we find in this Address, page after page, of empty platitudes.

The document itself starts with a reference to the 10th General Election; and without doubt, it was a water-shed election. Undoubtedly, it was the most violent election we have ever witnessed. It is a matter of great regret and sorrow to us that the former Prime Minister and the Leader of the Congress Party was heinously assassinated during this election. But my reference to the Tenth General Election is not on account of that alone. because we have referred to these aspects of the Tenth General Election in a different context, on an earlier occasion. If the Tenth General Election, along with all these things going to be remembered, it will be remembered for the controversy that attended upon the high Office of the Chief Election Commissioner. My leader. Shri Lal K. Advani has said that like the Justice of the Supreme Court, the Chief Election Commissioner must so conduct himself that not only does he actually do justice but he must also appear to do justice. It is a matter of very great regret that the Chief Election Commissioner—I am not examining a single issue—the totality of his action now appears as if he did not do justice; not only did he not do justice, he, infact, revelled in controversy. That is a matter of great regret and I think the Tenth General Election will be remembered for that.

There is one other aspect of the Tenth General Election, which, I think, we all ought to reflect upon very deeply. Upto the Tenth General Election, never in our history did we play with election date. The announcement of an election schedule was a kind of Lakshman Rekha. It had inherent in it sacrosanctity. You do not play with those dates no matter what happens.

I remember the ghastly election in 1983 in Assam. I listened with some interest to the arguments put forward now both by the Proposer of the Motion and the Seconder as to why there should not be elections in the Punjab. As far as the election in Assam were concerned, I do not have to say what role my Party had entrusted me to play there in those elections; they were elections that will for ever live in my memory. We did not leave those elections; we went through those elections no matter what happened. I am given to understand that during the momentous elections of 1977, an advice was tendered to the late Mrs. Gandhi that she was likely to lose then, therefore, to push them forward; and be it said to her ever lasting credit that she did not do it. In the Tenth General Election, we have crossed that Rubicon for the first time. We have set such a terrible precedent that I do not know what we will do in the future with election dates. The Election Commissioner and the Government of the day had countermanded elections with the kind of lack of restraint which astounds me. We have played with the electoratees. If we continue on this path, because we have set our foot on this path now, please reflect what the future Chief Election Commissioners or what the future Governments might be able to do so far as the sacrosanctity of the elections are concerned.

It was in this context that reference was made by the Mover of the Motion of Thanks, to the Punjab. Sir, I wish to share a thought with you. Elections are relike the heart-beat of democracy. You cannot play with them. You cannot advance that heart-beat, or you will have a seizure and you cannot retard the process of that heartbeat, or the heart will cease functioning altogether. What we have done in the tenth general elections is to play with the heart-beat of democracy. It is not an observation merely on the Chief Election Commissioner, it is on observation on those that decided what happened in the Punjab about postponement of elections. One day it is on, or another off. Various arguments have been propounded, put forward; it is not necessary to repeat them. It is only going to take the time of the House. I would urge the Mover of the Motion who comes from the State, himself reflect on what I say, I can never share his agony, his personal agony, about the State, that is his own. But I am also not indifferent to the agony of Punjab. I am also not a foreigner to Punjab and therefore I say. I say it with a great deal of sorrow, that when the present Government says that this decision to postpone elections was taken, how many decisions were taken about postponing elections in the Punjab ? You set a date, you postponed it, you set it again, you countermanded that what kind of game where you playing ?

SHRI BUTA SINGH : We never did it.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : You were part of the Chandra Shekhar Government. You were part of them for seven months, a co-habitation that is now conveniently forgotton.

SHRI BUTASINGH : By the time elections that was not so.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : It is known, Sir, that when husbands and wives can fall out, a one-time arrange-

I am not on that small point whether you were actually co-habiting with the Chandra Shekhar Government when the decision to postpone elections in Punjab was taken, or not. But a very disturbing thought remains that this Government says, "we did not take the decision to postpone the elections in the Punjab," you took a mid night decision. You took it, as I said just yesterday, and I would like to repeat it, that decision was an act of great cruelty to the people of Punjab, an act of unbelievable cynicism and whimsicality. At the penultimate moment, when it appeared, may be wrongly to us, that finally, at last possibly India and Punjab might after all win, just when it appeared to be so, you went and postponed the elec-

Mover of the Motion and the seconder, that you did not participate in these elections. Did you have them postponed because you now wanted to participate in the elections ?

SHRI BUTA SINGH : Not al all.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : But you had them postponed on the mid-night between one Government and another and you say that you did not have them postponed. That worries us even more. Who after all had them postponed This Government is not, you say, responsible. Who had them postponed? What kind of constitutional grey area has emerged in the postponement of the Punjab election? We want an answer.

I shall not go over the ground that the Mover of the Resolution went, over the historical ground of Punjab, a little bit about Jammu and Kashmir, a little bit of Assam. We will be considering the States in detail, unfortunately when the budgets of these States come before Parliament. I, therefore, do not want to utilise the occasion of discussion on the President's Address to go into detail about Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir. Assam of course, has got a Government of its own. That also, for Assam another occasion will arise.

I find one great lacuna in this Address, and referring to border States this lacuna is about my home State, Rajasthan. The honourable Mover of the Resolution represents Rajasthan. He earlier represented Rajasthan and I am sure that he is not unfamiliar with what I am going to say now. I submit for the consideration of the Government that Rajasthan's border with Pakistan is possibly our last stable controllable track of border between India and Pakistan. Please do everything to retain it exactly as that is bacause already a great deal of damage has been done.

I do not know who is taking notes of my submission. It is my expectation that somebody in the Prime Minister's Secretariat is taking notes because I would expect replies to these points.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The Government is taking note of the points.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH: Sir, I was on the question of Rajasthan border. Recently members of Jaffarwal gang were caught in Jodhpur. Shri Buta Singh will know what I am talking of and how important it is that we captured that gang. He knows as well as I know that Rajasthan's border with Pakistan and Sind has today become geographically a fully porous border. You cannot really do there what you can do in Jammu and Kashmir or in Punjab. It is also my home. It troubles me parochially. It has become an area of principal narco terrorism. Already in about every sand dune of the districts of Jaisalmer and Barmer you will find narcotics buried. It is the principal area of export, illegal export of five hundred rupee notes from India into Pakistan; which hundred rupee notes eventually find their way through Lahore into Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab terrorist activity areas. Rajasthan's border has already become an area of import of weapons, please remember where narcotics flow, weapons will follow. I also submit that it is the one border between India and Sind Pakistan which is now currently the area of planned, organised, regular infiltration of personnel. Please mark these points. I had written to the previous Government about this, even to the previous Government before that. I would like to caution this Government about the inherent dangers that are there in Rajasthan. It is my regret and sorrow that there is no mention about Rajasthan border in this President's Address.

I will briefly cover the law and order aspect. His Excellency the President has spoken of a composite Rapid Action Force to be employed in conditions, situations of communal riots. As I have said earlier, I am opposed to proliferation of one force after another. We have demonstrated this tendency over the last decade or so. For every new incident, we create a force. For every new crime, we have a tendency to enact a new legislation. I had an occasion to say this to the honourable mover of the Motion when he held the high office of the Union Home Minister. This is a tendency. We have to curb it. For every new crime, there has to be a new law and for every new incident, you have to have a new force. This is an unending situation. The previous Government had thought of a force called "Rashtriya Rifles" I do not know where those Rashtriya Rifles are now. I opposed it even then. I submitted to the then Prime Minister that this Rashtriya Rifles appeared to me to be such an unnecessary idea. In a similar fashion, this Rapid Action Force is also an unnecessary one. Sir, we have a great civil service and bureaucracy. But it is not exactly renowned for rapid action ? Sir, I do not know what you mean by "rapid action". Are you going to equip it with helicopters ? This kind of phraseology is misleading. Then what is the meaning of composite ? Why can you not say that it will have full representation of India ? By calling it 'composite', you unnecessarily become suggestive about the composition of the force, thereby defeating it of its effectiveness and effifficiency. My suggestion is that you must re-consider this whole business of creating one force after another. I personally am opposed to this kind of proliferation of forces.

My greatest difficulty with this Address is with paragraph ten. Para 10 in about four, five lines covers the entire spectrum of the defence policy of this Government. It is an appalling admission. If this is all that this Government has to say about defence preparedness, the totality of the perception about defence that this Government has, it is a very sorry admission. There is no mention about the security environment prevailing either within the vicinity of the country or in concentric circles around the country. There is not a sentence about threat perceptions whether internal related to insurgency, terrorism or anything except to say that our defence forces are wonderful people, we pat them on the back but they are slightly over-worked and therefore, we must think about it. What an insulting paragraph to the Armed Forces ! I find this one great lacuna in this document. We do want this Government to share with us what are your perceptions about the threats that face the country, what are your perceptions in a scenario that has emerged from post-Iraq war. Three-and-half pages have been devoted on foreign policy but there is a small four-line paragraph on defence.

I would like elucidation by the Government on the defence five-year plans. It is very well known that the seventh defence five year plan was in fact cleared by the Rajiv Gandhi Government very late. In fact, the defence seventh five year plan was cleared three years after the seventh five year plan had already run its course and then it was conveyed to the Ministry of Defence that the seventh defence five year plan was cleared without any financial commitment. We do not want the same fate to visit the eight defence five year plan. We do want to know the status where does the eighth defence five year plan stand because these plans are co-terminus with the other plans.

Sir, there are other worries that I have about defence related matters. I would mention them in brief because during the Demands for Grants relating to the Ministry of Defence there will be greater occasion to elaborate them.

Now we are facing a problem and it is a fact of life, not in qualitative terms but certainly in quantitative terms, that 70 per cent of our dependence on military equipment, hardware and weapon was on the Soviet Union or the Eastern Block countries. That is no longer available for obvious enough reasons. It is not that it is not available today but it has not been available for the last a year-and-a-half or more and it is not going to be available in the future unless it is against hard currency. I am sure, the Government has thought about it. But it is a worrisome thing. It caused a major hiccup in the previous Government when there was a sudden deterioration of relations between us and our neighbours. This is a situation which could well repeat itself. I would like the Government to clarify because suddenly a vacuum has arisen in the total economic context, where short of convertible currency where tne seller wants nothing else but convertible currency and where there are no alternative sources of supply identified yet. What is the Government doing about it ?

16.19 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair.*]

There is one other point which I would like to deal with. This is a small paragraph which covers the whole defence policy. The routine thing that is talked about is to cut the defence budget. Then it is said : "No, we would not cut the defence budget." Other requirements of the defence forces must be fully met. This kind of bandying of argument about the requirements of the defence forces really does not serve the purpose. A short statement on this is that the requirements of the armed forces must be properly met. They must be properly assessed and properly met and therefore they must be utilised most economically and efficiently. This goes without saying in which context. I would like the Government to clarify. Shri Arun Singh was made the head of a Committee that went into the total aspect of defence expenditure. It is my understanding that Shri Arun Singh has submitted his report to the Government. It is my understanding that this Committee has done some very worthwhile work .. (*Interruptions*). In fact, it has gone to the extent of working out the details of the Defence Eighth Five Year Plan. Therefore, I would like to know from the

Government—because it covers the aspect of economy in defence expenditure—as to what the status of that Report is. Have you examined it? Have you made up your mind about it? Why do you not share the thinking the Government has on that Report? Sir, I do not want to labour on this because there are so many speakers who want to speak.

Sir, I have some clarifications to seek on this President's Address. In the process of seeking those clarifications I would request that my clarifications be also treated as suggestions for inclusion if not in the President's Address, certainly as part of the total Agenda of this Government because the other day the Leader of the House spoke of the vital need of creating a national agenda. I think it is an aspect that can no longer be overlooked. No Government irrespective of which political persuasion can afford to overlook the aspect of a National Energy. Policy I put it to the Government in all seriousness whether you include it in it because I know you had very little time to prepare this document or do not include it and I have not even submitted any formal amendments to the Motion, but I do request you in all sincerity to apply your mind to the totality of the question of a National Energy Policy. Share your thinking on a National Energy Policy with us. What is the future of that aim, an aim of 10000 MW of nuclear power by 2000 A.D., what is the status of it? What is the status and the totality of the oil question? And when talking of oil my second submission is about a National Transport Policy. You cannot have a Energy Policy outside of a Transport Policy. I will give you merely one example. I do not know why some of us practise this very tedious trade of politics. Some of us have to go to Jaipur—being the capital of our State—very frequently. Everytime that we travel by road from Delhi to Jaipur, we travel at the cost of our lives. This road is appalling. The traffic is even worse. But, if you were to provide a fast commuter service which took 3-4 hours between Jaipur and Delhi why should this one single artery to Jaipur be choked with traffic? That is what I mean by National Transport Policy. Instead of choking your roads with this enormous stream of lorries emanating somewhere from Punjab and going all the way down South, why not have a more efficient rail network? I cannot go on elaborating the aspect of National Transport Policy, but a National Energy Policy is inseprable from a National Transport Policy. We welcome the initiatives taken by the Prime Minister for a total revamping of economic reforms and new trade policy. The new Industrial Policy is on the anvil. I would, therefore, like to talk about the role and function of the Planning Commission. I understand that you wanted to give Shri Pranab Mukherjee a job. It is perfectly understandable. Do give him that job. But after having given him that job, what do you want the Planning Commission to be doing? We would like to know what exactly is it that you will entrust the Planning Commission to do.

AN HON. MEMBER : Is he not the liquidator to wind it up?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : But then, we would like to know the continued relevance.

Sir, my next suggestion is about communications and informatics. It must be said to the credit of your late leader and the late Prime Minister that he was amongst the few who certainly recognised the great importance of communications and information. I am sorry to say that there is really no thinking demonstrated in this document about the Government's policy on communications and information. I am constrained to read out just one paragraph of this statement by the President which really exemplifies what I said that it is a document full of platitudinous waffle.

> "The development of infrastructure will receive Government's close attention. Power generation will be stepped up. Steps will be taken to make the steel industry more competitive. Modernisation of rail transport and augmentation of capacity will receive attention. Telecom services will receive very high priority."

This in bureaucratic terms means that he would have found the file about one week from now .. (*Interruptions*). Therefore, I would like the Government to please pay attention to tele-communications and information and share their thoughts with us.

I must commend the Government that in this slim document of not more than sixteen pages, they have devoted 3½ pages to foreign policy. I do not want to go into an examination of all that they have said because that will await the Demands for Grants of the Ministry of External Affairs. There are however two major lacunae here. Despite 3½ pages devoted to foreign policy, there is not a single sentence devoted to foreign economic policy. Everyone knows that it is really the foreign economic policy which today leads the foreign policy by the nose. Political content of foreign police might have more political sex appeal but it has no other substance after that. Foreign economic policy is the substance of foreign policy today. You can have no political content in your foreign policy but you cannot have economic thought, and I think a great lacuna in this document is total absence of even a sentence about foreign economic policy and the great challenge that is thrown to India as foreign economic policy—issues.

I have heard so much about the defence related weaponery. I have heard it about the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc countries. But I am constrained to say that not a word is mentioned here about how we are going to alter our trade relations with the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc countries and what is the future of this rupee-rouble arrangement and how long will it last. After all, a very large percentage of our total foreign economic policy is also hooked to that opiate of yesterday. We must ask the Government to reflect on this and to share its thoughts with us.

I will conclude with just one other lacuna which ought really to have come under the observations of Tenth general Elections. You have found so much violence, so much election-related violence, but not a word is said about electoral reforms. After all, the previous Parliament went through the whole process. Almost a Joint Parliamentary Committee examined this total aspect, and submitted its Report, and when you were cohabiting with Chandra Shekhar, you put that into cold storage by sending it to yet another Joint Parliamentary Committee. I would like the Government to please resurrect it, please share their thoughts with us on electoral reforms, because that no longer brooks any delay.

These are undoubtedly extraordinary days. Because they are such extraordinary days, wrongly perhaps we looked for something extraordinary in this document. I am sorry that I do not find anything extraordinary in it. These are days, of course, of challenge and test. Because the Rt. Hon. Prime Minister himself said that these are days of challenge and test, we wanted a reflection of that, with seriousness in this document, which we do not find. But if these are days of challenging tests, to my understanding, there are also days of great potential and unusual opportunity. That also is not contained here. Sir, a new era—after the tenth general elections—has, without doubt, arrived; whether we recognise it or do not recognise it. Empty subscriptions to yesterday's idioms, to yesterday's icons, to yesterday's preoccupations or prejudices will not serve either today's purpose and certainly not tomorrow's purpose. That is what we were looking for in this document: an inspirational kind of a message to the nation that will lift us, that will show us—if not all the details—certainly a direction. Because that is what is absent here, I regret, I do not know, how I am to pursuade myself to support this document.

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR (Mayiladuturai) : Can you tell me whether there is any other party that worships more ancient, yesterday's icons than your party ?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : Sir, if you will permit me, to answer this question, I will. It is an interesting question; somewhat philosophical. Some icons are related to national identity. They become part, they are integral with national identity. Your question, of course, is related to Ram. Now, I put it to you in all seriousness that you separate Ram from the consciousness of India and I do not know which India you will then be looking at. . . (*Interruptions*)

Ram is not merely an icon. Ram is part of the cultural consciousness. Ram is part of the totality of the civilizational consciousnes of India. Ram is not merely an icon. (*Interruptions*) The questioner is understanding what I am answering.

SHRI A. CHARLES (Trivandrum) : You are diluting it.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : I am not diluting it. It is possible that you may not hold that view point. I am merely attempting to answer the clarification that has been sought. . . (*Interruptions*).

[*Translation*]

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : When we say "Uska Ram Utargaya", by "Rama" we do not mean the idol of Rama. Rama is not merely an icon, which we worship. From what we mean by saying "Ram utargaya hai" is that there is no more humaneness left in him .. (*Interruptions*).

[*English*]

SHRI MANI SHANKAR AIYAR : If Ram is so integral to the consciousness of our civilization, why did the Jan Sangh and the Bhartiya Janata Party not raise this issue for thirty two years, from 1952 till 1984 ?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : This is a perfectly valid question.

MR. SPEAKER : Would you like to carry on with the questions and answers ?

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : I think the question is very relevant. .. (*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

AN HON. MEMBER : What are your views about the sacred cow ? .. (*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

THE MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF STEEL (SHRI SANTOSH MOHAN DEV) : One thing I can say. He is a personal friend of mine. There is a lot of change that has taken place in his opinion about Ram, during the pre-election and post-election period.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : I would very much like to answer every question that has been asked and I would, in fact, want this debate. After all, this assembly is for that kind of debate. I think the questions that have been asked and clarifications sought need to be answered.

MR. SPEAKER : He is not asking a question. He has made a speech.

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : I leave it for a private discussion with my good friend .. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Who will invite whom ?

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : We will invite you. .. (*Interruptions*).

Sir, let me conclude. I thank you for the courtesy and consideration .. (*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

PROF. RASA SINGH RAWAT (Ajmer) : First you understand the Indian culture and then say such a thing .. (*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

MR. SPEAKER : You don't have to carry on with this kind of discussion. Mr. Jaswant Singh, you will not reply to it.

(*Interruptions*)

SHRI JASWANT SINGH : Sir, would you permit me to say one concluding sentence ? Of course, it is an annual ritual, it is an annual occurrence, and with the arrival of every new year, every new Government, the President of the Union addresses the Joint Session of the Parliament and the Government of the day through the agency of the President of the Union addresses the nation through the Joint Session of Parliament. In reality it is the utterance of the Government of the day. That is why I am not showing any disrespect to the Head of the Republic when, on account of the lecunae that I have pointed out, I am unable to persuade myself to support the Motion of Thanks that the mover has proposed.

I am most grateful to you for the courtesy and consideration that you have shown me in giving this time.

Thank you.

DR. VISHWANATH SHARMA (Ghazipur) : I beg to move :

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

> "but regret that there is no mention in the Address for making provisions for funds for speedy development of Bundelkhand region of U.P. and M.P." (5)

SHRI HARIN PATHAK (Ahmedabad." (6)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

> "but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need to shifting Western Railway Headquarters from Bombay to Ahmedabad." (6)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

> "but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need to establish a microwave link between Ahmedabad and Delhi Doordarshan for transmitting national network programmes." (7)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

> "but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the intention to continue the scheme of Assistance to small and marginal farmers for increasing Agriculture production which was introduced during 1983-84, as a centrally sponsored scheme on 50:50 sharing basis by the State Government and Central Government." (8)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

> "but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the effective implementation of the schemes supported by funds collected by way of salt cess." (9)

[*Translation*]

SHRI HARIN PATHAK (Ahmedabad) : I beg to move :

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

> "but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the migration of minorities from Jammu and Kashmir and Assam due to deteriorating law and order situation to other states." (42)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

> "but regret that there is no mention about the steep rise in prices of essential commodities and the steps needed to check malpractices in the Public Distribution System". (43)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

> "but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the reopening of closed textile mills in Gujarat especially in Ahmedabad." (44)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the address fails to mention about the need to provide assistance under various rehabilations scheme to the workers of closed textile mills of Gujarat." (45)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about connecting Chipabad, Gujarat with Bombay High through associated gas pipe line." (46)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the supply of natural gas to Ahmedabad City, through pipe line." (47)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the import of edible oil." (48)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need for increasing the quota of sugar for Gujarat in view of increasing demand in the State." (49)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need for conversion of Rajkot-Peraval metre gauge line into broad gauge line and extending it up to Phadinar." (50)

[*English*]

BHUWAN CHAND KHANDURI (Garhwal) : I beg to move :

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the policy on formation of a hill state in Uttar Pradesh, namely, Uttaranchal." (10)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about granting .of 'One-rank-one-pension' to the ex-servicemen." (11)

[*Translation*]

SHRI KALKA DAS (Karolbagh) : I beg to move :

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

but regret that the Address fails to mention about any concrete scheme for the development of the National Capital Delhi and the steps to be taken by the Government in this direction." (12)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need for holding elections to the Metropolitan Council of Delhi and Municipal Corporation of Delhi immediately." (13).

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the effective steps to be taken to provide justice to the

Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the country.' (14)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the effective steps proposed to be taken by the Government to provide equal number of posts to the people belonging to SC/ST categories in exchange for the reserved posts which have since been dereserved". (15)

[*English*]

SHRI ARJUN CHARAN SETHI (Bhadrah) : I beg to move :

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the growing problem of educated unemployed in the country and the need for its meaningful solution at the earliest". (16)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention that the devastating floods affected the millions of lives and the destruction in the different parts of the country especially in Orissa." (17)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the address of growing malpractices in public life and the need for its eradication to save the social fabric." (18)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about providing remunerative price on time to the farmers for their produce." (19)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about power crisis in the country, especially in economically backward States and the need for its early solution." (20)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need for shifting Baliapal National Test Range from Orissa." (21)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the need for electoral reforms in the country which is long overdue." (155)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about enforcement of Prasar Bharati (Broadcasting Corporation of India) Act, 1990." (156)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the need for strengthening of Centre-State relations and to provide more financial autonomy to the States so as to ensure their growth." (157)

SHRI SUDHIR GIRI (Contai) : I beg to move :

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention that to reduce the price hike the Government will fix the prices of fourteen essential Commodities and take up the responsibility of their supply to the common man at such fixed rate all over the country." (22)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention that the depreciation of the Rupee in terms of some foreign currencies was taken recourse to without consulting all the political parties." (23).

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention that the labour participation in the industrial management will be ensured in future." (24).

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address fails to ensure that the daily wage labourers of the rural areas will be provided jobs throughout the year." (25).

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to fix minimum wages for the workers in the salt factories in the country." (26).

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention the measures to be taken by the Government towards electoral reforms." (27).

[*Translation*]

SHRI RAMESHWAR PATIDAR (Khargone) : I beg to move :

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the first date for holding elections in Punjab." (28)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about making moral education compulsory in educational institutions." (29)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about transhipment of 25 tonnes of gold to England." (30)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address, about 20 per cent devaluation of rupee within three days." (31)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the steps to be taken to bring down the prices as per promise made to the people." (32)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need to effectively counter Pakistan's involvement in sending infiltrators into Kashmir." (33)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about India's firm resolve to librate Indian territory now in Chinese occupation." (34)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about the initiative to be taken to enact laws relating to sharing of equal responsibility by all communities to contain increasing population." (317)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that no mention has been made in the Address about enacting Uniform Civil Code or making family planning compulsory." (318)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret to point out that no mention has been made in the Address to fill the backlog of all reserved posts in Public Sector Undertakings, Banks and Insurance Companies by a target date." (319)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret to point out that no mention has been made in the Address about the need to constitute a Parliamentary Committee for Backward Classes to safeguard the interests of Backward Classes." (320)

SHRI GIRDHARI LAL BHARGAVA (Jaipur) I beg to move :

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the steps proposed to be taken to contain the rising prices in the country". (51)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the steps to be taken to stop kiling of innocent people by terrorists in Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir and Assam." (52)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need to quickly bring forward electoral reforms." (53)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about means to control the severity of natural calamities in the country, just like the recurring drought in Rajasthan." (54)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the positive steps to be taken to check increasing unemployent." (101)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the failure of the Government to mitigate acute hardship being caused to the people due to steep rise in the prices of essential commodities." (102)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about making the 'right to Work' a fundamental right enabling the unemployed to get unemployment allowance." (103)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about giving the farmers the remunerative prices for agricultural produce and providing the agricultural labourers, with housing and medical facilities as also proper wages." (104)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about expeditious clearance of the project of the State Governments pending with the Central Government for a long period." (105)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the hardship and disappointment being caused to the Central Government pensioners as a result of price rise." (106)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about enhancing financial assistance to the States after seeing the Gadgil Formula." (107)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about giving the due share of revenues to the States keeeping in view the exapansion of developmental activities." (108)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the measures to be taken to remove the shortcomings in the present electoral system". (109)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the failure of the Government to grant pension to agricultural labourers, widows of all ages and disabled persons." (110)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address of the progress of various developmental schemes being funded with Central Assistance relating to mineral wealth, tourism, roads, electricity and drinking water in Rajasthan." (111)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about giving assurance of adequate financial assistance to the States affected by natural calamities like drought and floods." (112)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention any assurance for giving remunerative prices to the farmers for their produce and for setting up agro-based industries for the development of rural economy." (643)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

> "but regret that the Address fails to mention any assurance for taking steps to effectively implement the consumer protection programme". (644)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

> "but regret that the Address fails to mention any assurance for constructing effective security belt on Indo-Pak and Indo-Bangladesh borders within a specified time." (645)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

> "but regret that the Address fails to mention the need to appoint Human Rights Commission in place of Minorities Commission at the earliest." (646)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

> "but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need to abolish Article 370 to bring Jammu and Kashmir State at par with other States of the country." (647)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

> "but regret there is no mention in the Address about constituting an Electoral Reforms Commission with a view to remove the shortcomings prevalent in our electoral system' (648)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

> "but regret that there is no mention in the Address about enacting uniform rules for all citizens of the country." (649)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

> "but regret that in the Address there no mention about clear directives by Government to improve the efficiency and increase the profit of public sector undertakings". (650).

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

> "but regret that there is no mention in the Address about giving compensation to State Governments for abolishing to toll-tax in the State." (651)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

> "but regret that there is no mention in the Address about constituting an Inter-State Council to solve the disputes between the Centre and States and amongst the States." (652)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

> "but regret that the Address fails to mention the need to take effective steps to contain the growth of black money in the country." (653)

[*English*]

DR. LAXMINARAYAN PANDEYA : I beg to move :

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no firm assurance in the Address about the specific steps to be taken for development of rural economy with remunerative prices to the farmers and of a network of agro-based industries." (123)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no firm assurance in the Address that Government would take steps to build a powerful Consumer movement in the country and effectively implement all the Consumer Protection Programmes." (124)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no firm assurance in the Address that within a fixed time-schedule Government would provide a security belt for effectively sealing the Indo-Pak and Indo-Bangladesh borders." (125)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no firm assurance in the Address about a time-bound programme to make Union territory of Delhi a full-fledged State." (126)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need for speedy appointment of a "Human Rights Commission" in place of the Minorities Commission to look into complaints of injustice against any section of society." (127)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no firm assurance in the Address regarding speedy formation of Development Councils for Ladakh and Jammu regions of J&K state to meet the long-standing aspirations of the people of these regions for their balanced development." (128)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention a timebound programme for comprehensive Constitutional and Legislative measures for Electoral Reforms in the country to eliminate various malpractices and shortcomings including those in the electoral system itself." (129)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address for speedy steps for formation of Development Boards for Marathwada and Vidrabha in Maharashtra." (130)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address that the Government would chalk out firm and specific guidelines to reconsider the role of Public Sector keeping in view its constribution to the overall industrial development and to

> improve the efficiency and profitability of Public Sector Units." (131)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

> "but regret that there is no commitment in the Address about formation of smaller, economically and democratically viable States in near future." (132)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

> "but regret that there is no mention in the Address about any time-bound programme for appointment of an Inter-State Council to settle all Inter-State and Centre-State disputes." (133)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

> "but regret that there is no mention in the Address that the Central Government will compensate State Govts. to enable them to abolish Octroi duty under a time-bound programme." (134)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

> "but regret that there is no mention in the Address about giving photo identity cards on priority basis to all adult citizens residing in the border areas." (135)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

> "but regret that the Address fails to mention a time-bound programme for actual implementation of the provisions of Minimum Wages Act so as to cover the farm labour." (136)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added namely:—

> "but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the effective steps including electroal reforms to prevent generation of black money in the country." (137)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added namely:—

> "but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the steps to be taken for the growth of Handicrafts and Village Industries." (138)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added namely:—

> "but regret that the Address does not contain any reference to the time-bound implementation of the Constitutional provision to secure a uniform Civil Code for the citizens of the country." (139)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added namely:—

> "but regret that there is no firm commitment in the Address about specific measures under a time-schedule for drastic curtailment of non-developmental expenditure." (140)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added namely:—

> "but regret that there the Address fails to mention about the Government's firm decision for time-bound implementation of the recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission on Centre-State relations." (141)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added namely:—

> "but regret that there is no time-bound assurance in the Address for

inclusion of Manipuri and Nepali Languages in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution." (142)

[*Translation*]

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Adress about the resolve to liberate Chinese occupied Indian territory." (464)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about undue delay in setting up gas based Power Plant in Madhya Pradesh to meet the power crisis there." (465)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Adress about strengthening of Indo-Nepalese relations." (466)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about setting up of Agriculture Research Centres in Ratlam and Mandsaur districts of Madhya Pradesh keeping in view the growing needs of agriculture." (467)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about bridging the gap between the poor and the rich in the country." (468)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Adress about setting up the proposed Bharat Petroleum Refinery at Khirkia (Distt. Hosangabad, M.P.)". (469)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Adress about linking the road between Nasirabad-Mhow (*via* Chittorgarh Neemach-Mandsour-Ratlam and Indore) with National Highway for the smooth flow of road traffic and integrated development of backward state like Madhya Pradesh." (470)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about any special scheme for the comprehensive development of Ayurveda." (471)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Adress about specific proposals to make 'Comprehensive' laws regarding protection of forests and protection of environment and also to ensure their strict implementation." (472)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about a time frame for the completion of the work of laying of new railway line between Indore and Dohad and also for conversion of Neemach-Ratlam section metre gauge line into broad gauge line, keeping in view the need to expand transport including railway facilities in a backward State like Madhya Pradesh." (473)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about any steps to solve the problems faced by the opium growers of Mandsaur, Ratlam and other districts of Madhya Pradesh and about any proposal to issue them licences." (474)

[English]

SHRI IMCHALEMBA (Nagaland): I beg to move :

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about lifting of ban on National Socialist Council of Nagaland despite repeated request by Government of Nagaland." (158)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

'but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for withdrawal of the enforcement of the Armed Forces Special Powers Act in some parts of North Eastern States." (159)

SHRI YUMNAM YAIMA SINGH (Inner Manipur : I beg to

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for the withdrawal of the enforcement of the Special Power to the Armed Forces Act from Manipur." (160)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for establishment of a Regional Engineering College in Manipur." (161)

That at the end of the motion, the the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the need for naming one of the roads in the Capital after the name of Bir Tikeadrajeet, a great martyr of the country." (162)

That at the end of the motion, the the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the need for inclusion of the Manipuri language in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution of India." (163)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there no mention in the Address about holding of early Election to the seven Assembly Constituencies in Manipur which have fallen vacant on account of the disqualification of seven MLAs from the membership of the Manipur Assembly." (257)

SHRI D. D. KHANORIA (Kangra) : I beg to move :

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the decision of the Government regarding 'one rank one pension' for ex-servicemen." (165)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about granting of interim relief to the ex-servicemen, already accepted by the Government." (166)

SHRI MORESHWAR SAVE (Aurangabad) : I beg to move :

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the time limit by which the Government will find a negotiated settlement to the Ram Janmabhoomi-Babri Masjid issue." (180)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address that while protecting the rights and interests of minorities the rights and interests of majority community, will not be affected." (181)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about accepting the demand of One Rank one Pension to ex-servicemen." (182)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need to check losses in the Public Sector Undertakings." (183)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about improving tourism, which is one of the largest foreign exchange earner." (184)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about any scheme to rehabilitate resettle the refugees from Kashmir Valley." (185)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about setting up of an Economic Development Corporation for economically backward people." (514)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about taking up the matter with the Government of Bangladesh to ensure the protection of interests of Hindus and Chakma Bodhas in Bangladesh." (515)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about taking up the matter with the Government of Nepal to ensure stoppage of anti-India propaganda in that country." (516)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about taking up the matter with the Government of Pakistan to ensure protection to Hindus and their places of worship in Sind Province." (517)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about expeditious setting up of statutory Development Boards for the development of Konkan, Marathwada and Vidharba regions of Maharashtra in accordance with the provisions contained in Article 371(2) of the Constitution." (518)

[*Translation*]

SHRI MOHAN SINGH (Deoria):

I beg to move :

That at the end of the motion. the following be added. namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the devaluation of rupee in comparison to foreign currency and pledging of 25 tonnes of Gold in England." (186)

That at the end of the motion. the following be added. namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the kidnapping of senior administrative personnel, killing of Soviet Engineer and releasing of all 'ULFA' extremists in Assam." (187)

That at the end of the motion. the following be added. namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the kidnapping and kiling of Israeli tourists and kidnapping of Indian Oil personnel in Jammu and Kashmir and the urgent need to get the personnel released." (188)

[*English*]

SHRI SATYENDRANATH BROHMO CHAUDHURY (Kokrajhar) : I beg to move :

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address fails to take note of the Bodoland issue and the need for a permanent solution to the issue by peaceful means through negotiated settlement." 189)

SHRI BHOGENDRA JHA (Madhubani) : I beg to move :

That at the end of the montion. the following be added, namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for harnessing Himalayan rivers flowing through Nepal through multipurpose Dams over rivers Kosi. Kamla, Bagwati. Kasauli and Pancheswar." (280)

That at the end of the montion. the following be added. namely:—

"but regret that the Address does not mention the inclusion of Maithili, Manipuri, Nepali, Santhali. Bhojpuri. Rajasthani. Dogri and Konkani languages in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution of India." (281)

That at the end of the motion. the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention the imperative need for prominent role of public sectors in key industries." (282)

That at the end of the motion. the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to stop Bank credits to private wholesale traders in essential commodities so as to bring down the prices of essential commodities." (283)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to evolve an integrated price mechanism for providing remunerative prices to the primary producers of agricultural products, for achiving parity between the prices of agricultural and industrial products, for limiting the difference between the prices paid to the primary producers and those charged from the actual consumers to 20 per cent around the year and for covering the entire population through a network of public distribution system." (284)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not criticise the postponement of the election in Punjab just on the eve of the poll." (285)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for banning private practice by faculty doctors and others employed in Government Hospitals." (286)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to strictly enforce the academic calender issued by the UGC like 180 days teaching in a year time bound examination and results and to ban private tution by teachers in all educational institutions." (287)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention the imperative need for providing employment or self-employment on the basis of one person one job." (288)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the urgency of bringing in radical agrarian reforms for ensuring self-cultivating tenancy and ending semi-feudalism and other capitalist holds on agriculture." (352)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention the need for immediately putting an end to caste discrimination like untouchability in the social life of the country". (353)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about need for job reservation to the children born out of inter-caste marriages between Scheduled Castes and others." (354)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regrets that the Address does not mention the necessity of assisting marginal and small farmers to increase agricultural production by providing appropriate technology in implements, seeds, fertilisers and other inputs and interest free short term credits." (355)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for restructuring of Centre-State relations." (489)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for effective implementation of Land Reforms." (490)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to enforce the National Commission for Women Act, 1990." (491)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not take note of the need to make administrative reforms and decentralisation of power." (492)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for identifying chronic cyclone prone areas in the country and alloting special grants to these areas." (493)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to evolve special programmes for underdeveloped backward areas of the country." (494)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to make efforts for finding out alternatives to manage the economy of the country without going for IMF loans." (495)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the Govt's policy regarding Workers Participation in management." (496)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to make "Right to Work" a fundamental right." (497)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need to take determined steps for the implementation of Minimum Wages Act for the benefit of Agricultural workers." (498)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the demands for including Nepali and Manipuri languages in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution." (499)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention the need for a need-based minimum wages for low paid factory workers, to-day tappers weavers, bidi and building workers and also the next to provide social security to them." (500)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for introducing risk insurance scheme for journalists." (501)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention anything about agitation for a separate Jharkhand State." (502)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention of any time-bound programme BHANGI MUKTI AND BANDHUA MUKTI." (503)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention of any time bound programme to elevate the poverty striken belt of the country like Bihar, Orissa and other Eastern States." (504)

That at the end of the motion, the following bb added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about any time-bound programme for solution of most flood affected areas of the country like Bihar and Assam." (505)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention of any time-bound programme of National guaranteed employment or constitution guarantee for right to work." (506)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about strengthening of Public Distribution System particularly for the benefit of the people living below poverty line." (507)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about any National Programme of old age pension for the people living below poverty line." (508)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about any National Programme of Midday Meal for primary school children all over the country." (509)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about to upliftment of the marginal and small farmers." (510)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the need for any

Central legislation for the Welfare of the agricultural Workers." (541)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about any action plan for checking profiteering, adulteration tax evasion, smuggling and transfer of Indian wealth to foreign countries." (542)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention of any action plan of political mobilisation of all the secular forces to fight against the serious communal tension." (543)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about any fresh initiative of any political mobilisation to solve Punjab and Kashmir problem." (544)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the impact of Super Trade 301 on Indian Economy and the measures to be taken to deal with its impact." (545)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the tremendous national financial loss due to devaluation of rupee.' (546)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention about the policy of self-reliance in economic matters by continuing to follow the Nehru model of industrialisation of India." (547)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the sky-rocketing prices caused by the policy of devaluation of rupees." (563)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention any policy reform to remove growing sickness in the public sector." (564)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the need to change the standardised freight rate which is casuing heavy loss to Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa and other States." (565)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the decentralisation of power from the Centre to State and to the Panchayats which alone can reduce the administrative cost." (566)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the need to give right to the States to charge sales tax on consignment trade." (567)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the need to establish the National Grid five river water." (568)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the need for giving unemployment allowance to the unemployed." (569)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the need to evolve a National Youth Policy." (570)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the need for giving protection to Urdu language and its promotion in States where sizeable number of people have Urdu as their mother-tongue." (571)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the need for effective reforms in the electroal system to eliminate money and muscle power and introduction of proportional representation." (572)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the need for reactivating the National Integration Council by holding regular meetings and implementing its decisions under a time-bound schedule." (573)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need to repeal all undemocratic statutes including Essential Services Maintenance Act and National Security Act and thereby to enlarge democratic and civil rights of the people." (574)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention about the need to reform the judicial system ensuring thereby speedy and cheaper justice to the common people." (575)

[*Translation*]

SHRI KAMLA MISRA MADHUKAR (Motihari) : I beg to move :

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about implementing welfare schemes for farm labourers through unions like All India Farm Labourers Union." (356)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about implementing minimum .wages for farm labourers." (357)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about a comprehensive welfare scheme for unorganised works." (358)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the failure of family planning programmes in checking population explosion." (359)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about any time bound programme to solve the unemployment problem." (360)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the steps to be taken to check the ever increasing profiteering, hoarding and blackmarketeering in the country." (361)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about providing benefits to small and marginal farmers." (362)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about any concrete scheme to increase the income of small and marginal farmers." (363)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need to involve Gram Panchayats in the development of social forestry." (364)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about any programme for the rural youth in particular." (365)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the provision of lavatories, houses and health care facilities to the rural poor." (366)

SHRI BHAGWAN SHANKAR RAWAT (Agra) : I beg to move :

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about need to declare Agra as an industrially backward district and setting up of electronic and other pollution free industries there to safeguard the interests of workers and artisans engaged in cottage industries there." (387)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about encouraging employment oriented education in colleges and universities creating opportunities for the unemployed and providing unemployment allowance to them for subsistence." (388)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need to provide Central assistance for improving civic amenities in Agra in order to promote tourism industry." (389)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need to construct a Civil Aerodrome in Agra." (390)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about setting up of a Bench of Allahabad High Court at Agra on the basis of the recommendations of Jaswant Singh Commission." (391)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need for conversion of Raja Balwant Singh College of Agra into a Central Agricultural University." (392)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about laying industrial gas pipe line in Agra to obviate environmental pollution and supplying cooking gas to the villages in Agra with a view to replacing dung and wood." (393)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need to connect Agra with Eastern India (Assam, Bengal, Bihar, Orissa) and Bombay through a new passenger train and setting up a Central railway station in order to ensure smooth flow of traffic." (394)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need for adequate supply of electricity to Agra from the Central Power Grid and the need to set up a gas-based power Station in Agra to augment power-supply." (395)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need to develop Agra Cantt. Railway Station and Raja Mandi Railway Station and to provide stoppage for more trains at Raja Mandi Railway Station." (654)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need to include Agra in the National Capital Region and to shift commercial and government offices to Agra after developing it to ease pressure on Delhi." (655)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need to establish a Television centre, Sports Stadium of international standard and a dry port at Agra". (656)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need to develop places of tourism interest like the Shringi Rishi Ashram. Surkuti birth place of Lord Parshuram in Runakata, Sursarovar. Kathan. Ghats of Bateshwar, Shiv Temple and Jain Teertha of Shouripur." (657)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added. namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need to declare Uttar Pradesh as a drought affected area for providng special grant to it for undertaking drought relief measures to tide over loss in agricultural and industrial spheres due to drought in the whole of Uttar Pradesh particularly in Agra." (658)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about measures to avert the drinking water crisis in Agra by providing sufficient central assistance for supply pollution free water there". (659)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need to provide central assistance for planned beautification and development of Agra so as to attract more domestic and foreign tourists to Agra." (660)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need to establish an ultra-modern Medical Institute like A.I.I.M.S., at Agra with central assistance." (661)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added. namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about giving permission by the central Government to U.P. Government as requested by it for creating Bomb Disposal Squads in all its districts so as to maintain peace and security in the State and to contain terrorist activities." (662)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about giving industrial status to agriculture." (663)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added. namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address for providing more central assistance for linking villages of Agra with metalled roads. for electrifying all villages and for saving Taj Mahal from pollution." (664)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about taking timely measures to prevent Agra in U.P. and Bharatpur in Rajasthan from turning into desert and giving special grant for provision of water for drinking and irrigation in rural areas." (665)

PROF. PREM DHUMAL (Hamirpur) : I beg to move :

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about constituting ecological Task Force to be used by ex-servicemen in Himachal Pradesh to maintain the ecoloigcal balance." (438)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about making improvement in the education policy and implementation of recommendations of Chattopadhya Commission." (439)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the construction of Hoshiarpur-Ambh-Nadaun-Hamirpur, Awahdevi-Sarkaghat-Mandi National Highway." (440)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about giving financial assistance for canalisation of Swan river and its 73 tributories in order to check recurrence of floods in Himachal Pradesh." (441)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about opening new Kendriya Vidyalayas in Himachal Pradesh." (442)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about giving financial assistance to Himachal Pradesh Government in the implementation of 'Van Lagao, Rozi Kamao—a unique scheme of afforestation." (443)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about making ability and devotion to duty in the Army as the criteria for recruitment in the Army instead of population of the State as the sole criterion." (444)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about giving special category state status to a backward state like Himachal Pradesh." (445)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about Government's policy to encourage privatisation in the energy sector." (446)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about taking special steps to encourage tourism in the country particularly in Himachal Pradesh." (447)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about granting 'one rank one pension' to the ex-servicemen." (448)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about providing employment or unemployment allowance to the unemployed." (449)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about extension of broad gauge railway line in Himachal Pradesh." (450)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about setting up of a heavy industry in the Central sector in Himachal Pradesh." (451)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about setting up of an ordnance factory in Himachal Pradesh." (452)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no motion in the Address about giving support price to fruit growers." (453)

PROF. RASA SINGH RAWAT (Ajmer) : I beg to move :

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about any specific scheme to provide relief to the people from the sky-rocketing prices arising out of the present state of economy." (454)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about any measure to check the abduction of senior Administrative officials and of Public Sector Undertakings by terrorists in Kashmir and Assam." (455)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the appropriate steps proposed to be taken to arrest the decline in moral standards in all walks of life." (456)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

but regret that there is no mention in the Address about any integrated scheme to solve the drinking water problem in Rajasthan on a permanent basis and to develop the desert and Aravali regions of the State." (457)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about any concrete step proposed to be taken to achieve the goal of a sef-reliant and strong India with nuclear capability." (458)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

> "but regret that there is no mention in the Address about any proposal to convert the Delhi-Ahmedabad metre gauge line into broad gauge and to build an airport at Ajmer keeping in view the international importance of the city." (459)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

> "but regret that there is no mention in the Address about any steps that the Government intends to take to instil in the minds of the masses a sense of patrotism and a devotion to work in the larger interests of the country." (527)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

> "but regret that there is no mention in the Address about proposals to put a blanket ban on killing of cattle to preserve the country's cattle wealth." (528)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

> "but regret that there is no mention in the Address about any proposed steps to raise the living standards of the people in the border areas and to provide basic amenities in border villages." (529)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

> "but regret that there is no mention in the Address about any specific steps for the welfare of the children and widows of ex-servicemen and jawans who had taken voluntary retirement or killed in battle." (530)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

> "but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the steps to implement the decision to grant 'one rank one pension' to the ex-servicemen." (531)

That at the end of the motion, following be added, namely :—

> "but regret that there is no mention in the Address about any proposal to protect, conserve and increase the country's forest wealth." (532)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

> "but regret that there is no mention in the Address about any steps proposed to be taken to improve the standard of education to check the growing indiscipline in colleges and universities as well as to increase the Pay and allowance of teachers." (533)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

> "but regret that there is no mention in the Address about any specific steps to check the growing unemployment problem in the country, to provide job opportunities to the unemployed and to provide unemployment allowance to all jobless, educated and uneducated youth." (534)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

> "but regret that there is no mention in the Address about any proposal to provide additional funds to backward states like Rajasthan." (535)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the concrete steps to be taken for the overall development of the youth and for strengthening national unit." (536)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about any specific steps proposed to be taken to rehabilitate the Kashmiri the migrants who had fled the valley due to the harrasment and persecution at the hands of terrorist, communal and secessionist elements and to provide them adequate means of livelihood." (537)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about any proposal for liberation of Indian territory under occupation of Pakistan and China." (538)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about any concrete steps to eradicate poverty." (539)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about any concrete steps to be taken for the creation of a disease free healthy society." (540)

[*English*]

SHRIMATI BHAVANA CHIKALIA (Junagarh) : I beg to move :

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about maintaining the sanctity of Somnath Temple while maintaining the status quo as on 15-8-1947." (511)

SHRI DILEEP BHAI SANGHANI (Amroli) : I beg to move :

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about payment of the remaining amount of the crop insurance by the Central Government to the farmers of Gujarat." (512)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need to release a White Paper on the Indian economy in view of the unprecedented financial crisis in the country." (513)

SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE (Panskura) : I beg to move :

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address does not mention the need to constitute the National Commission for Women." (576)

SHRIMATI MALINI BHATTACHARYA (Jadavpur) : I beg o move

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the immediate setting up of Prasar Bharati under Prasar Bharati Broadcasting Corporation of India Act, 1990," (601)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the necessity to prevent foreign and indigenous monopoly houses from taking over the electronic media." (602)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the immediate need for setting up a National Commission for Women in accordance with the National Commission for Women Act, 1990". (603)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the steps to ensure compulsory free school education to all children in the country." (604)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need to allot six per cent of the national Budget to education and to avoid curtailment of budgetary allocation for education at all levels." (605)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need to initiate a nationwide discussion for the formulation of a National Cultural Policy with special emphasis on healthy development of regional cultural life and of forms of folk-culture in rural and tribal areas." (606)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need to make the 'Right to Work' a fundamental right in the Constitution." (607)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the demand that Nepali and Manipuri languages be included in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution." (608)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the intransigent stand of U.S. administration vis-a-vis third world countries at the Uruguay Round of Trade Negotiation with respect to the question of intellectual property rights." (675)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the continuing apartheid policy of the South African Government." (676)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur) : I beg to move :

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

> "but regret that the Address fails to mention the urgent need to launch orientation programmes for the central, paramilitary forces and other public servants so as to reinforce the ideals of secularism and welfare of the police." (609)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

> "but regret that the Address fails to mention the need to urgently enact law for making Right to Work and to Education as fundamental rights in the Constitution." (610)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

> "but regret that the Address fails to mention the need to enact law for making Right to Health and to shelter as fundamental rights in the Constitution." (611)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

> "but regret that the Address fails to mention the need to take urgent steps to restructure existing Centre-State relations so as to ensure proper devaluation of necesary economic and political power to the states." (612)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

> "but regret that the Address fails to mention the need to change the existing policy of freight equalisation which is causing imbalances in growth and development between the various regions of the country." (613)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

> "but regret that the Address fail to mention the need take urgent measures to abolish child labour in the country." (614)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

> "but regret that the Address fails to mention the adverse impact of alleged IMF conditions to the price situation and the danger if poses to the building of a self-reliance economy of our economy." (615)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

> "but regret that the Address fails to mention the need to search for an Indian solution to the prevailing economic crisis in place of frequent borrowing from international financial agencies." (616)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

> "but regret that the Address fails to mention the need to undertake at exploration works for on a war footing." (617)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

> "but regret that the Address fails to mention the need to enact laws for Electoral reforms." (618)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

> "but regret that the Address fails to mention the need to enact laws for judicial reforms." (619)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention the need to ensure self rule for tribal and other ethnic minorities living in compact and contiguous areas." (620)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention the need to evolve a National Youth and Sports Policy." (621)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention the need to strengthen public sector." (622)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention the need to urgently take measures to re-open the closed industries and to remove the sickness of industries." (623)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention the need to nationalise the jute industries and some of the basic indusrial units like Bengal Potteries. Mohini Mills." (624)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention the need to enact law for participation of workers in the management of industrial units." (625)

That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention the need to provide employment to the unemployed youth as per promises made to the people." (626)

That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention the steps to be taken for the removal of rural poverty and for providing housing and drinking water in the rural areas and slums in the urban areas.' (627)

That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that the Address fails to mention the need to provide necessary assistance to the states for expansion of widening the irrigation facilities to achieve mutiple corpping." (628)

SHRI PIUS TIRKEY (Alipurduar): I beg to move :

That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the President's Address about the urgent need as to bring down prices of essential commodity." (629)

That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no concrete reference in the Address about the measures to be taken up to reduce inflation and to eliminate the over increasing flow of black money which contributes to the sharpening of economic crisis to an unprecedented proportion." (630)

That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no reference in the Address about need for the Workers' participation in the management." (631)

That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about any radical land reforms such as distribution of land to the landless." (632)

That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there has been no reference in the Address about state trading of tea and jute, which are the biggest earner of foreign exchange." (633)

That at the end of the Motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no menton in the Address about the need to ban retrenchment and shrinkage of employment in industrial establishments and to reduce duty-hours and work load with a view to stress and to increasing productivity." (634)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need to strengthen one foreign policy which is based on non-alignment." (635)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there has been no reference in the Address as regards implementation of recommendation of Sarkaria Commission." (636)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there has been no mention in the Address regarding our commitment to the resolutions adopted in ALMA-ATA Conference with respect to 'Positive health for all' by 2000 AD." (637)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the need to supply fourteen items of daily necessities through Public Distribution System to the poor people at subsidised rates." (638)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that is no mention in the Address about the social and economic problems facing the Tribal population of the country and the need for their overall upliftment." (639)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address that Scheduled/Tribal areas will be brought under Sixth Schedule of the Constitution." (640)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address about the steps to be taken to redress the grievances of tribals such as self-rule, or homeland of their own to preserve their ethenic culture, languages and way of life." (641)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address that the Constitution of India will be translated in all the regional languages of India." (642)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address that the proposed Bill for maintaining status quo on 15th August, 1947 in respect of all places of worship would include the disputed site of Ram Janam Bhumi and Babri Masjid." (671)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address that the ideals of socialism which is enshrined in our Constitution will be earnestly realised." (672)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address that the national policy on education would in essence cater to the millions of children with 'renewed vigour." (673)

That at the end of the motion, the following be added, namely :—

"but regret that there is no mention in the Address that the aspirations of the tribals who are now awakened will be respected and they will be given their due place in the national scene." (674)

[*Translation*]

SHRI RABI RAY (Kendrapara) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to oppose the Motion of thanks on the President's Address moved by my friend Shri Buta Singh on behalf of the Congress Party. I am going to raise some basic questions today which might have been discussed in this House earlier also, but, I feel, the seriousness which should have been shown on these fundamental questions was missing. Shri Buta Singh has, perhaps, left the House, but I would like to tell him that I did not get an opportunity to express my views in the House for about 18 months. I would also like to touch upon the issues which have been left out in the President's Address. We can say with pride that Lok Sabha is an important organ of the democracy but I do not think we are using this forum the way we should use it—a fact which was reflected today during the question hour. Before being member of Parliament, we take oath and express our faith in the Constitution. It is just possible that Shri Buta Singh was not conscious of what he was speaking when he said that the Congress Party and India were synonymous. I would like to tell Shri Santoshji and Shri Antulayji, who are sitting just opposite to me, that it is totally wrong to say like that because ruling Party at the Centre keeps Changing. It is the Congress Party which has been ruling the Country for the last 40 years except for a brief period of 2½ years when other parties come to power. There are some eternal values in our Country and this country belongs to us all. The country remains, it is the ruling party that changes. Therefore, I would like to tell Shri Buta Singh who had been a Cabinet Minister not to repeat this mistake in future. I am distressed to point out that the party which ruled this country for 40 or 42 years out of 45 years of the post independence period, has lost sight of the ideals and values which we established during the national movement and which are anshrined in our Constitution. When a person like me speaks on the President's Address, my heart natuarally goes to the Preamble of our Constitution. In the Preamble to the Constitution, we have written: "We, the people of India, having solemnly resolved to Constitute India into a Sovereign Socialist Secular Democratic Republic . . ." . We had resolved that ours would be a welfare state and socialism and secularism would be its foundation. There will two schools of thought in the country after independence. One of them was that of Gandhiji. Some of the Hon. Members had said yesterday that a few months after the death of Gandhiji this school of thought underwent a change. The Prime Ministers which ran the Government subsequently effected some basic changes in it and thus emerged another school of thought. I would like to quote a sentence from the President's Address which reads : "India's greatest resource is its people." You would agree that what is meant by the people here is not we people who sit here inside the Parliament, but the teeming millions who are outside the Parliament. We are also included in them but we are responsible to those crores of people whom we represent. When we say the people are our asset, they are our greatest resource, that means the party which ruled the country or the last 40 years and continue to rule even today, though in minority, did not harness this resource. I would like to say that the President's Address fails to mention about three enemies of the country. An agenda or an ideology or a philosophy which should be there in the Address to deal with these enemies is almost missing. These enemies are : First, during the last some years we imported an ideology from the western countries, that is consumerist culture. I call it five star culture. Second, concentration of powers, i.e. concentration of all economic and administrative powers in the Union Council of Ministers in Delhi. This is the second enemy of India. The third enemy of the country is the growing feelings of communalism in the country which is detrimental to the protection of sovereignty of the country. These three things have not been included in the Address. I would like to say a few words on the policies of the Government outlined in the President's Address. Yesterday, Shri Paswan, while speaking on behalf of the opposition had said that they could not even think of extreme poverty when a mother threw her hungry child into the well because of uttar poverty. Union Minister, Shri Rajesh Pilot was enraged to hear these words. I could not hear his reactions. But I would like to draw your attention to a very sensitive issue. You all know about that and a discussion was also held in the House on it. This issue became more prominent after late Shri Rajiv Gandhi's visit to Kalahandi in Orissa. People died of starvation in Kalahandi for many years but the Congress Government always said that it was totally false. Government did not do anything inspite of all this. But fortunately somebody sent a letter to Orissa High Court which treated the letter as a writ petition and appointed a Sessions Judge, a District Judge to see whether adivasi people had really died of starvation there. A report has been received in this connection. Though I could not get it in book form, I would like to quote from this Report. The Report says :

[*English*]

> "The Baidyanath Mishra Commission appointed by the Orissa High Court has confirmed that no fewer than five persons died of starvation in Kalahandi, a backward district, in 1989, thus belying the then Congress-I Government's repeated denials.
>
> The Commission, in its report submitted recently said that four advivasis had died of starvation in Sindibadhi village during February 1989 and one death had occurred in Deypur village in June the same year, owing to severe drought and consequent unemployment.
>
> Mr. Mishra, a retired district judge of Cuttack, was appointed to go into the conditions prevailing in the district by a division bench of the High Court on May 2, 1990, which took *suo motu* cognizance of press reports."

[*Translation*]

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have given excerpts from the Report and I would like to say that it is not something concocted. When a judge appointed by the High Court says that 5 adivasi, children and parents have died of starvation then what more evidence is required. When I think of the Report, I feel that we should accept, the ruling party should accept that a number of people might be dying this way, but Parliament is unaware of all this. Parliament remains unaware of the present condition of the society.

I would like to say one thing more and that is consumerist culture. Our worthy friends like Shri Saifuddin Choudhury and Mr. Chatterjee would prefer to call it capitalist policy. I am saying this. intentionally because there is no difference between consumerist culture and capitalism. You will be astonished to hear what I am going to say. 'UNICEF' is an international organisation. This organisation has recently given a report about the plight of children. Since it is a children's organisation, you would be interested in it. I would like to read out the portion of this report concerning India.

[*English*]

> "30% of all children who died this year all those who were not immunised are to be found in just three countries., India, Bangla Desh and Pakistan."

[*Translation*]

The countries are: India, Bangla Desh and Pakistan. Further, it says:

[*English*]

> "This is not only a function of sheer size of Asia's population. The percentage of children who are malnourished in South-Asia is almost twice as high as in Africa."

[*Translation*]

Some Hon. Members of this House may be of the opinion that Africa is more backward than us. But as per the "UNICEF" Report that opinion should now be changed, Africa is ahead of us. Which are the families and to which area these children belong who die in thousands. That is what I want to tell this House. Then I would like to draw the attention of the House towards the Constitution. May be later on Shri Sontosh Mohan Dev and other friends, who are sitting opposite us, would agree that whatever Shri Rabi Ray is saying about the Directive Principles laid down in the Constitution, is correct but they won't admit it outside the House. This is all about concentration of wealth. Directive Principles are directives to the Government that the concentration of wealth of the country should be diversified, but today. I want to prove with the Government figures that there is a great gap between we people, Constitution and the reality.

Secondly. I would like to tell you as to where the consumerist culture, or in other words the capitalists economy has taken the country. Mr. Speaker, Sir, in the year 1972, the figures of assets of Birla Family were Rs. 589.42 crores, in 1988-89 these figures rose to Rs. 6974.06 crores for just one business family, next to it was Tata with the figures of Rs. 641.38 crores, the figures in respect of Reliance were 34.27 in 1976 and today, within 10-11 years during 1988-89 they have jumped to Rs. 3241.24 crores .... (*Interruptions*) .... Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to see my friend also present here. He was also saying that he is not a representative of rich people, he was not born in a rich family. But he must have also realised as to what is going on. Where is the country leading to? He was not born in Tata and Birla family but in a middle class family. I want to tell you where this country is heading to? .. (*Interruptions*) .. Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am pained to say that only some high and middle class people have been benefited by the Five Year Plan during the last 20 years. We took loans to the tune of one lakh crore rupees from foreign countries and during the Congress regime these have been multiplied three-fold. No study has ever been carried out in this regard you can order an enquiry as to how and where this money has been spent. I suppose that all the money or 80—85 per cent of it has been spent on unproductive heads, and not on the improvement of agriculture and industry. It is a serious matter that five-star culture, consumerist culture and capitalist policy have swayed the country.

I have already referred certain things as to how the capitalists multiplied their assets. Today, I would like to tell you something to which my friends from the B.J.P. would also agree. All of us do not believe in casteism and all the people present here do not believe in casteism. Mr. Speaker, Sir, the people who drafted the Constitution were not revolutionaries like Shri Ram Vilas Paswan, Shri Chatterjee or Saifuddin Choudhury, they were great scholars and jurists .. (*Interruptions*) ..

They can't called revolutionaries but they can be called people with liberal ideology. Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are the people who do not believe in casteism and I would say that today we the Parliamentarians should learn that our fathers, grandfathers also belonged to some caste, but we have no caste, we are in favour of a classless society. Mr. Speaker, Sir, there is a conspiracy. Census of 1931, was the last census based on caste. The subsequent censuses did not carry any evidence of caste. Mr. Speaker, Sir, we shall have to accept the existence of a thing, which has been there for the past thousand of years. Today, we are confronted with the problem of strengthening the democracy, but the question is whether the country will be ruled by Manusmriti or the Constitution framed by Dr. Ambedkar. We don't believe in casteism, we were told to follow the Constitution. A person like me can go even ahead of Constitution. But today, I would restrict myself to the Constitution only. It is said that there are two aspects of Hindu society. Hindu society is divided into two classes—dvija and shudra. If you say that it is not correct, I will say that I beg to differ with you. You will agree with me that the Hindu society has been divided into subcastes, particularly, the 'Brahmins' and 'Shudras' and the shudras are *persona nongruta* in every respect whether economic or social. They are not even treated as human beings in 'Manusmriti' which was written by 'Manu' thousands of years ago. Mr. Speaker, Sir, history bears testimony that we have suffered the attacks of foreign invaders during the last 1500 years. The last invasion was that by China. According to foreign invaders and British Historians we have been victims of these invasions because of bickerings among the kings and emperors. I look at the history from a different angle. For thousands of years we had been indifferent to 'shudras' who toiled hard and sweated out. It is the result of their hard work that we have high buildings. If we include womenfolk also, they are about 80—85 per cent in the society but we never gave them an opportunity to participate in politics and administration. As a result when a handful of British forces landed in this country the farmers completely surrendered to them and said that they are least bothered about the country. I believe that indifference to crores of people in this country is responsible for our slavery. After independence it was categorically stated in the Constitution that to abolish caste system we will have to provide special opportunities to the backward classes. We have been harping on 'equal opportunities'—a phrase borrowed from French Revolution—since then. It has been categorically stated in Article 15 (4) and 16 (4) of the Constitution that we should provide special opportunities to socially and educationally backward communities. We have to work for their upliftment.

17.00 hrs.

We hold those, who demolish caste system, in high esteem. There are other means to achieve it but the basic principle is enshrined in the Constitution which says that we should provide special opportunities to them. It has been provided in Article 15 (4) and Article 16 (4) of the Constitution.

I thank Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru for amending the Constitution to provide equal opportunities to all. When V.P. Singh's Government took a revolutionary step and implemented it, it was discussed repeatedly in the House. All the Parties had made a commitment to this effect to their election manifesto. When 27 per cent jobs were reserved for these categories, I was pained to note that our children immolated themselves in the streets of Delhi. I was in your place those days and was in deep anguish. There could have been a discussion in the House that all of us want to demolish caste system. But for that we have to accept the principle of providing special opportunities to certain categories which forms an important part of the Constitution. This principle has been accepted everywhere in the world. We have to give a helping hand to the backward and the down trodden for their upliftment. I had mentioned 'Manu' here because if somebody mentions Rama these days we tell him not to mix religion with politics. There has been partition once. Have we not learnt a lesson from it ? Therefore, besides secularism and abolition of caste system we have to provide special opportunities to the backward classes. I know there are poor in other categories of communities but we say that 5 or 10 per cent should be reserved for them also. There are no two opinion about it. I want to emphasize here that if all of us believe in abolition of caste system and creating a casteless society we should accept the provision of providing special opportunities to the backward classes.

The 'economic' aspect should not be considered. When you speak to the intelligentsia they support the logic of economic equality. Our history is quite different from that of France, England and America. There is no mention of caste system in the European society. In fact, it does not exist anywhere in the world except India. That is why the framers of our Constitution made provision for special opportunities for the backwards. After all, what was the fault of VP Singh's Government ? All that he did was an announcement for the implementation of an expert's report on this subject. We should fulfil the commitment made in the Constitution. We should adopt the values established by Gandhi Ji. With a heavy heart and deep anguish I bring to the notice of my colleagues that in States like Bihar and Bengal—I am deliberately naming the two States—communal riots are a frequent occurence. When I was the Speaker of Lok Sabha, I had gone to Patna, where I met Shri Laloo Prasad Yadav. One of my journalist friend was also with me. When I asked Shri Laloo Prasad how things were going in his State, he said that except Karpoori Thakur all other Chief Ministers of the State had the same view about Communal riots. The administration never received a signal to the effect that the Chief Minister of Bihar would not tolerate any communal riot in the State. That is why there used to be communal riots. Bhagalpur is the latest example. After that there was no communal riot because the administration and the Chief Minister were determined not to tolerate communal riots. I personally know all the Members of Parliament and none of them wants a riot, even then riots take place. Why is it so? Because we fail to honour the values enshrined in the Constitution. We are concerned about the future of our country. All the MPs are concerned about it. What will happen to the integrity of India?

Mr. Speaker, Sir, with your permission I would like to submit here that we should pass a resolution saying that we are committed to one thing and that is we will not do anything which would create sense of insecurity among the people or incite riots. I am saying this because I feel that the Party which has remained in power during the last 40 years out of 45 years since Independence has infact done nothing in this regard. Sir, I have raised these basic issues because I want that the three enemies of the country viz.. Communalism. consumerist culture and centralisation should be wiped out.

About centralisation. I would like to mention that when Rajiv Gandhiji was the Prime Minister he had initiated decentralisation. He wanted to delegate power to districts. and villages. Mr. Speaker. Sir. Centre and State are two strong pillars of our Constitution. The demarcation of powers between Centre and State has also been underlined in the Constitution. You might be aware that during the last 45 years about 90 times State Governments have been dismissed. I would like to mention here that Congress has dismissed their own Governments in the States at east 30—40 times. I would like to submit that the time has come when we will have to strengthen our country by bringing the Shudras, farmers and workers, who had been alienated for thousands of years, back into the main stream. Most important is to fight against centralisation.

[*English*]

SHRI ANANTRAO DESHMUKH (Washim): Is it that you are approving Panchayati Raj?

SHRI RABI RAY: Please be attentive

[*Translation*]

Mr. Speaker. Sir. it seems he has not followed me. I said that we would have been more happy had Rajiv Gandhi's proposal of deligating powers to Panchayats and districts included the States as well. I believe in four pillars of democracy. This is a lacunae in the Constitution that it has only two pillars. In Article 40 of the constitution it has been in categorically stated in Directive Principles that State Governments can look after the Panchayats. The problem is that one State Government has not held elections to the Panchayats for the last twenty five years thus depriving the people of their Constitutional rights. I want to submit that we should work on the proposal mooted by Shri Rajiv Gandhi by removing the above lacunae by amending the constitution. If we devolve powers at district and village level. they can become two more pillars of Constitution which at present do not exist. The VP Singh Government had thought something in this direction and had even introduced a Bill in this regard. Centralisation is coming in the way of devolving powers to the poor. I fully agree with the statistics that Shri Rajiv Gandhi had given. He is no more and the other two Prime Ministers are here. I would like to mention here that the people in the village receive only Rs. fifteen out of Rs. one hundred that is sanctioned for them. Unless the economy and administration is decentralised and power is not devolved to the poor they cannot march ahead. They can commit mistakes they should be forgiven for that because even we commit mistakes while sitting here in this august House. That is the hallmark of democracy. We have deprived them of democracy. We should amend the Constitution so that all the four pillars can strengthen the country. It is our moral duty. We should give similar importance to districts and villages as we give to the Centre. I thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak on some basic issues.

I am grateful to the members of all parties who listened to me attentively. I think there will be further discussion on the Railway Budget and the on other Ministries under General Budget. The Ministries will have to be made more effective in regard to the implementation of the basic policy. We should project some issues before the country by the end of September when the Budget session is over. These issues should include the implementation of the recommendations of Mandal Commission, particularly the recommendations concerning the eradication of casteism. Consumerist culture which means muscle power as well as money power and which is eating the body politic like cancer should also be checked. This may enable us to move forward. I oppose the Motion of Thanks on President's Address moved by Shri Buta Singh.

[*English*]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, the President's Address, I am sorry to say, is nothing but a pedestrian's product of a limping Government. Like its manifesto, the Congress party treats the President's Address, as a ritual, which is full of cliches and jargans, rigmaroles and shibboleths. (*Interruptions*) When going through the President's Address, one does not find any awareness on the part of the Government of the complex issues that are facing the people and the crises that have engulfed this country. The Address does not specify the basic and the fundamental issues. As such, not having identified them, the President's Address does not give any indication as to the plan of action of this Government as to how to solve them. As I said, this Address is neither an exposition nor does it give any direction to the country as a whole.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I felt while I was listening to the Address the other day—I had occasions to be present on many of these Addresses being delivered—it seemed to me that it is nothing but a faithful reproduction of some of the old Addresses which were delivered by the President during the previous Congress regimes—nothing new, same vague promises, same superficiality and same sense of smug arrogance.

The Government does not apply its mind at all to the composition of this

House that this Government has not got the mandate of the people, as such. The manifesto or the policies and programmes of the Congress party have received the support of only 36 per cent or 37 per cent of the people of the country, taking into consideration the sympathy wave that was there after the tragic assassination of Shri Rajiv Gandhi.

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE : Even with that, they have got only 37 per cent.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Yes. Sir, when we hear them saying that this is the great achievement of the Congress party and that the people have given them this assignment to the Congress Party, as Sardar Buta Singhji has been labouring, it goes completely contrary to the stand taken by the Prime Minister of India, yesterday. This Government should not forget that even after all the efforts and persuasiveness of Shri Gulam Nabi Azad and my nephew Shri Rangarajan Kumaramangalam, they could not secure more than 241 votes. If all our Members were present—we were not very careful about that—and voted against you yesterday, this Government would not have been there, today. That is not being understood. Today, there would not have been any Government.

(*Interruptions*)

MINISTER OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF STEEL (SHRI SANTOSH MOHAN DEV) : Why were your Members not present yesterday ? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: This very question coming from Minister who has got an Independent Charge of a Department, shows the complete inability of this Government to understand its position and its total lack of attempt. They are lacking in equalities which should be possessed. (*Interruptions*) But, they ought to realise the present position of this Government. Although we could have got this Government dismissed yesterday, we did not do it. We do not held this Government to ransom. But we should also not be taken for granted. We want a solution to the basic problems, major problems afflicting the nation. We know that the problems which are faced by the nation today, are not the creation of the 18—month so-called non-performance. This is the accumulation of your 40-year misrule and misrule of your *benamdar*.

The Congress Party should not think that the people have approved of their policies and programmes or have given them any authority to rule this country on the basis of their previous performance. Let them not forget that in the election in the year 1989, the people of this country had unceremoniously and without a drop of tear, I am sure, voted the Congress Government out of power. You do not seem to have forgotten all that. Mere personal eulogy will not help you. Where is the introspection that why 415 Members came down to 191 ? Even then, when Mr. Rajiv Gandhi was at the helm of affairs.. We are hearing so much now from the Government, at least from the Prime Minister and the leader of the House. He spoke of the consensus. He spoke of what is being said as national agenda. Prime Minister has rightly said that the days of Government with massive mandates have gone. (*Interruptions*) He has to realise that if he has to survive. He has spoken of consensus. But what is meant by consensus of the Congress variety ? What is this consensus they are talking of ? He said that he was waiting for the confidence vote to be passed before he will indulge in arriving at consensus. But in the meantime, unilateral decisions have been taken of the most far-reaching consequences. The entire economic structure of this country has been altered. The country' dignity and prestige have been compromised. IMF loans with all sorts of conditionalities, about which the House has not been yet taken into confidence, have been taken. The entire import-export-foreign trade—has been altered.

Yesterday, we were told that an industrial policy is going to be announced in two or three days completely changing the present policy of self-reliance which was advocated by Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and approved by this House repeatedly. What is the explanation ? It will make my good friend Mr. Murli Deora happy. But is it an approach of consensus ? Just because you did not have your confidence vote, therefore, you take the country for a ride ! What is the authority this Government has got ? From whom ? The people have not given them authority. It was not in their election manifesto. Of course, they hardly care for their manifesto as I shall try to show. That is the most disposable document so far as this Government is concerned. That is why we feel what is the good of discussion after the event ?

Well, Prime Minister was very happy yesterday that a number sort of congratulatory messages are pouring in from abroad. NRIs are sending what is called congratulations to Mr. Manmohan Singh and to the Government. That is what he said. But are you thinking whether you are getting the congratulations of the people of this country—those people who are sweating and giving their blood for the purpose of manufacturing the wealth of this country, those people who are tilling the land and producing food for the people of this country, the common people, the workers and peasants ? Have you got their confidence ? Are you getting congratulations from them ? How are you going to tackle price rise ? Therefore, this type of attitude will not help this country. It is for them to decide on how they will act. But I think it will do them some good if they realise that they survive by sufferance. It will do them good if they cultivate some genuine sense of humility. Do not ask for support if you operate it in secrecy and act casually so far as Opposition is concerned. Sir, nobody can say that in this country, the Congress Government did not have any opportunities in the past. Rabi Rayji rightly reminded us that except for a few years, it had almost been an uninterrupted rule of the Congress by giants like Jawaharlal Nehru, Shrimati Indira Gandhi although you have always treated Lal Bahadur Shastri as a pigmy and you hardly mention him. However, it is for you to decide. But you have had opportunities. What are your achievements ? Some of them have just been pointed by our esteemed colleague, Rabi Rayji. Sir, it was believed by the Congress Party that in this country, the backward classes, the hungry and the illiterate and the teeming millions should always support them. And you only pandered to the wishes of the so-called articulate and the affluent people. The result today is, after all this, your so-called glorious rule. That is why, the wealth of a section of people has multiplied many times. We do not know how many times it has multiplied. Some figures were just now given. Blackmoney has increased; poverty has increased; corruption has increased; only the value of human life and of rupee has diminished. This is your achievement. So, what are you talking of Congress policies and culture ?

AN HON. MEMBER : How about the position in West Bengal ?

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE : It is much much better. That is why, they are coming back to power with greater and greater support of the people. Therefore, let us not hear too much of these Congress policies and programmes and achievements. Sir, they are talking of consensus because of the compulsions of parliamentary arithmetic and not for any other reason. There is no real change of heart. There is no real change in the style of functioning because they have to take up the posture of consensus and discussion. Otherwise, they cannot survive. But Sir, as I said, they should bear in mind that they have a very very limited mandate from the people to survive here and not to rule. But even then, when they are ruling, they must behave in such a manner and see where the country's interest lie. And for that, it is essential that some of the basic problems are tried to be solved not in a partisan manner, not in a high-handed manner but in a manner which will really solve the problems, so far as the basic aspects are concerned.

Yesterday, there were so many issues to be dealt with. I have got another speaker from my party to speak. And Sir, yesterday, comrade Saifuddin Choudhury had dealt with most of the points. It was a brilliant speech and I congratulate him.

SHRI MURLI DEORA : (Bombay South) : You kindly remember that you are speaking on President's Address and not on Mr. Saifuddin Choudhury's speech.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: I am congratulating him because he delivered a brilliant speech, there is hardly any difference between the President's Address and yesterday's shibboleth. It is essential to note that so far as the vital aspects which affect the daily life of the people of this country are concerned, there is hardly any reference in the Address. Some of the basic issues have been raised by Shri Rabi Ray.

So far as the Centre-State relations are concerned, not one word is said in the President's speech. As Shri Indrajit Gupta has rightly said. the Sarkaria Commission was set up by the Congress party, by Shrimati Indira Gandhi. The matter had been gone into and the report also was submitted. But no attempt is being made to implement its recommendations. We know how that report castigated the Congress Government for misusing Article

356 of our Constitution. Even today, the attempt to concentrate power in the hands of the Centre alone is still being done. Though the patience of the people was tested by the lengthy speech of the President the other day, there is not even one word about the Centre-State relations.

What have you said about the price rise which is affecting people's daily lives in this country ? Just see how the Congress Manifesto is jettisoned. It is said in the manifesto that in the first one hundred days the prices of the essential commodities would be rolled back to the level of July 1990 and so on and so forth. Now, what does the President's Address say ? It says :

> "Of particular concern is the rise in prices of essential commodities which hurts the weaker sections the most. Government attaches the highest priority to reducing inflation and will adopt necessary measures towards this end."

Where is the commitment ? we have no manner of doubt that the actions of this Government will prove to be to the detriment of the common man. There will be greater inflation and price rise because of the IMF loan and because of the devaluation of rupee, because of import liberalisation. There is bound to be a price rise and there is no doubt about it. Petroleum bill will certainly increase. We do not know to what extent, but we shall find out. It is bound to affect the common man because ordinary economic theory is that when you devalue rupee, there will certainly be inflationary pressure and prices will definitely go up.

So far as unemployment is concerned, I understand Shri Chinnithala's predicament. He has got a difficult task to perform. He has to do some tight rope walking. He finds himself in the Congress Party and he is the president of Youth Congress. He has to see that more employment opportunities are created. How can it be possible ? Congress Government and employment cannot co-exist. What is your commitment to the people ? It is promised that in the first 365 days, 10 million new jobs be created and there will be 100 million jobs before the year 2000 AD. Is it a sincere promise ? Has the President given any indication about the programmes and policies of the Government in the next one year ? He should have given some indication. The Address merely mentions :

> "The rapid expansion of opportunities for productive employment will be a major objective of our planning and economic policy"

That is all ! Where is the commitment of 10 million jobs a year ? How are you going to fulfil that commitment ? Where is the indication about t ? There is not even a whisper. You have taken the people for granted. I would like to know from the Government whether they consider the right to work as a fundamental right of the people of this country. I would like to know from Ramesh Chennithala whether he would support it or not. It was the commitment of the National Front Government and we supported them. At that time, they had indicated it. Discussions had started to work out some method. But in this Address, there is not even a word about this fundamental right to work.

So far as the electoral reforms are concerned, there is not one word about it in the President's Address. I had the privilege of being a Member of the Committee set up by the National Front Government. The then Law Minister was its Chairman. The Congress was also represented. But the trouble was that every time Mr. Bhagat used to come and say " I can give my personal opinion. My Party cannot take any decision". However even then he continued to be the Member of the committee. Some unanimous decisions were taken.

In 1971, I had the privilege of being a Member of the Committee set up by the then Speaker consisting of representatives from all the parties. Chairman of that Committee was our very good friend late Jagannath Rao, one of the senior and most respected Members of this House. There were unanimous recommendation as early as in 1971 but not one of them has been implemented. What is this Government's commitment to electoral reform and to judicial reform? Every day, we are hearing that people are facing the greatest difficulty in this sphere but what is the Government's policy or programme in regard to it. There is not a whisper of it.

During Shri Rajiv Gandhi's time sickness in industry reached its pinnacle. Over one lakh industrial units became sick. Many of them had closed down. Lakhs and lakhs of workers were on street.

MINISTER OF PETROLEUM AND NATURAL GAS (SHRI B. SHANKARANAND) : That was mostly in West Bengal.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: If you are trying to please yourself, I have nothing to say. Out of one lakh twenty four thousand units how many belonged to West Bengal ? And if that is so then it was the result of your industrial policy. However, if they are satisfied with West Bengal let them have satisfaction but it shows their ignorance, which I pity. The trouble is that these people are Ministers today who decide our fate. There is not one word about the sick industries ; how to revive them ; how the workers to go back to jobs. What is the fault of the workmen ? What is the fault of the railway men who still remain out of jobs ? What is the policy of this Government with regard to the Railway Workmen who were dismissed without any inquiry ? That was under Article 311(2)(a) of the Constitution, if you have heard about that. No show cause notice was even given to them. I would like to know about it. This Government exists for what ? I think only somehow to take the IMF loan and try to show to the people that they have not defaulted. Nothing has been disclosed to us : how much money was to be paid ; when was to be paid, to whom it was to be paid ; how much you are going to borrow and who is responsible for this. We know nothing. Today, you are only creating a panic situation in the country trying to show to the people under a panic situation that unless you pay this you will become defaulter ; India will become Chile, will become Venezuela and so on and so forth. This is the only thing which he came out with. When we had a meeting, as Mr. Gupta correctly pointed out, what was said to us was that we are in trouble but nothing was indicated. Therefore, that was the end of it. Today, people do not know, the House does not know, what is the real situation, still loan has been taken; devaluation has been done; gold has been mortgaged and the whole country's policy has been changed.

SHRI LOKNATH CHOUDHURY (Jagatsinghpur): When will they mortgage themselves?

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: They have already mortgaged the country to IMF. So far media is concerned, Prasar Bharti Act was passed unanimously by this Parliament. We remember, so many suggestions came and the National Front Government accepted so many amendments coming from the Congress Party and ultimately it was unanimously passed. What is the Government's attitude towards it? Is it not an important matter? Does it not deserve one sentence in the President's Address? And today we hear that the private persons will be given new channels. They say no autonomy but independence. What is the difference between autonomy and independence? To that this House has committed, unanimously all the parties, including the Congress Party supported it and suggested amendments which were accepted. We held a meeting also outside the House. And then, we came out with agreed amendments. Numerous meetings were held in which the Congress Party had participated. The Prasar Bharati Act has now been jettisoned. I would like to know what is this Government's policy with regard to this. We would like to know this Government's clearest policy with regard to the public sector.

I could not get a chance this morning. I was trying to put a supplementary question to the Railway Minister. He has said something casually that it will depend on the private sector or the public sector regarding the conversion of metregauge to broadgauge. How does the private sector come into this?

MR. SPEAKER: But you will be able to speak on the Budget.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: I am not blaming because the time was not there. I did not say that. I said that I was trying to put a question.

MR. SPEAKER: I am suggesting that you may put that question during the Budget discussion.

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE: Sir, the Prime Minister should answer this. This a fundamental question not directed to the Railways only. What is the approach of this Government towards public sector? What will happen? In which areas are you going to allow the private sector to come in? Core areas are there. Everyday, we have been raising this important question, that is, that the import bill of the petroleum takes about 25 per cent of our total import bill.

There were serious grievances about ONGC not being allowed to function properly. There seem to be certain restraints. A case is being made out for foreign intervention or foreign participation in oil exploration work. This is a very-very important sector of our national economy. If we can increase the production of petroleum products in this country, then necessarily we will import less, with the result we can save a tremendous amount of foreign exchange.

There is a serious grievance about the improper functioning because of interference from the interested quarters of the ONGC in the matter of oil exploration work. We have said that.

In the public sector, will you allow the participation of the private sector? This I would like to know from the Government. These are the issues which the Government must say. But this Address, which should be the charter of the Government's policies, programmes and action, does not indicate anything about what will happen to the public sector. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. the former Prime Minister, had committed to this nation that public sector occupy the commanding heights of our economy. Our principle of self-reliance is based upon the public sector giving its due position and strength. In core areas, nobody would be allowed to come in and dilute the public sector. It is very easy to give bad name. You do not appoint the Chief Executives properly. You interfere with their jobs. You get your own people employed in excess there unnecessarily. You interfere with their functioning. You do not provide money to them. I charge that there is a deliberate attempt to see that the public sector does not perform properly so that a case for dilution of the public sector is made out and the private sector can come in. It is because this is the Government which is run by the bigwigs of the industries. You are surviving because of them and you want to serve them in return. This is the position. What is this Government's policy with regard to public sector and privatisation? we read so much in papers but not a word has been mentioned in this. You should have the courage to say that. You cannot do it at the dictation of the IMF and the World Bank. Then, we shall be faced with a *fait accompli*. This cannot be the object of the Presidential Address.

The other point is very important and that is the question of Planning. We would like to know whether Planning process in this country would continue or not.

When I said Shri Pranab Mukherjee is probably the liquidator, it seemed to be in jest. But it assumes importance because of the attitude of this Government towards Planning. In the Congress Party's Manifesto, it was said:

In the Congress Party's manifesto it was said. (*Interruptions*) Mr. Pranab Mukherjee was hoping for something if the Congress came to power. Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao was the Chairman of this Committee. I have read it in the paper. It says, "The Congress will restore the planning process immediately." Except appointment of Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, nothing has been done. I hope he remains there because he has given some assurance that some projects will be set up in West Bengal, which are overdue.

The President's Address on page 8 reads as follows:

> "Given the difficult economic situation facing the country, the formulation of the 8th Five Year Plan assumes added importance. The Planning Commission began formulating the Plan in 1988. However, due

> to frequent changes in Government, the Plan document could not be finalised. Government will take necessary steps for the early finalisation of the 8th Plan."

Now, we find that it will take at least two more years. By that time, I am afraid, Yojna Bhavan may not be sold away to Birlas or Tatas. We know that all this was meant for publicity. They have never tried to bother about the manifesto. Therefore, this Address not only does not fulfil their promises but it goes against some of the fundamental concepts of our national life.

Last but not the least, one would have expected a greater emphasis on the question of the malady that is being faced by the country, namely, rearing of communal forces in the country.

There is a reference to a legislation to be brought as we had demanded also that the *status quo* as on the 15th August, 1947 would be maintained; and that has been mentioned here. But we do not find in the Address such awareness of the danger that is being faced by the people of this country and the Government's commitment to fight that.

There are other issues which will be dealt with by other Members of my Party. But I am unable to support this Motion ; I oppose this Motion. I think the way Shri Buta Singh spoke, it was more for consumption outside for restricted audience, not in this House, not for the benefit of this country. Thank you.

[*Translation*]

SHRI DIGVIJAY SINGH (Rajgarh) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to speak on the Motion of Thanks on President's Address. Mr. Speaker, Sir, elections of tenth Lok Sabha have passed through a crucial period and converted the whole atmosphere into that of communal hatred and violence. It was due to what our friends had been trying for the last several years that the tenth Lok Sabha elections turned into an atmosphere of violence, which claimed the life of our national leader, Shri Rajiv Gandhi. Today. Shri Rajiv Gandhi is not amongst us, but we have inherited the Congress election manifesto from him and President's Address is based on that itself. In view of this, it is the duty of all of us that we resolve to fulfil the dream of Shri Rajiv Gandhi, and lead the country in the direction he wanted to take it. I am confident that in the prevailing political atmosphere in which tenth Lok Sabha has been formed, every political party will rise above the party based narrow and exaggerated ideology and create an atmosphere of co-operation favourable to discuss national problems. People have elected us in order to test that we are capable or not capable to find a solution to the crisis our country is facing, whether it is political, social or economic crisis.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we will have to think seriously over the incidents which took place in these elections--the way booth-capturing took place and the manner in which communal hatred was created. We will also have to consider as to how these evils can be removed by making amendments in the representation of People Act. During the eighth Lok Sabha, efforts were made in this direction, but the outcome was not very good and the steps which were taken to check these evil practices proved unsuccessful. Therefore, this is the biggest challenge the country is facing today. If we have to maintain democratic system and restore faith in it, we will have to think seriously and also bring about changes in it.

The biggest problem the country is facing today, I believe, is the loss of faith in democracy, judiciary and the executive. Today, a common man is not confident that he would get justice. The cumbersome functioning of judiciary and the executive is becoming so unreliable that if we do not reform it, our democratic system itself will be in danger. The atmosphere which is being created in the country by the BJP, RSS and VHP has led to communal crisis. If the tension and bitterness between the Hindus and Muslims is not removed, it would be very difficult to maintain the unity in this country.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, my submission is that we will have to give serious thought to this issue. We will also have to give serious thought to the new concept of communalism given by Bhartiya Janata Party and its allies. On one hand Shri Advani in his speeches claims that he does not believe in forming a Hindu Nation. While participating in the discussion on 'No Confidence Motion' here, he had clearly stated "I agree that the concept of theocratic state is against Indian tradition, culture and also the Indian history". In Lok Sabha he expresses his faith in this ideology, whereas outside the Lok Sabha his views and the views of his colleagues are totally opposite to this ideology. The definition of a Hindu nation as given by VHP, Shiv Sena and many leaders of BJP is totally different from the definition given by Shri Advani here. BJP has always been playing a double role—they say something and do something totally different. In regard to Ram Janam Bhoomi-Babri Masjid .. (*Interruptions*).

AN HON. MEMBER: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Hon. Member is speaking on Shri Advani's speech or on the President's Address .. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI DIGVIJAY SINGH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, they conspired to create hatred among Hindus and Muslims in the entire country on the issue of Ram Janam Bhoomi and Babri Masjid. This has endangered the existence of the country. However, even in this connection, they are adopting double standards—Mandir will be constructed at that place only, but Masjid will not be destroyed. They have said that Masjid should be re-located, but how it would be re-located is not known. Perhaps they have no planning about it. Crores of rupees were collected in the country in the name of Ram Mandir. A dutiful honest official asked to show the account, but how could that be tolerated by our friends ? The man was forced to move out of service and today that person is no more in the job. However, it is a fact that crores of rupees were collected from the people and that money is not accounted in records (*Interruptions*) ..

PROF. RASA SINGH RAWAT: Account is audited every year .. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI DIGVIJAY SINGH: Mr Speaker, Sir, what will be the future of BJP, you can assess this by evaluating the election results of Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Himachal Pradesh. Within one and a half year, the people have lost faith in BJP, as is evident from the recent election results of Lok Sabha.

B.J.P. has formed Government in Uttar Pradesh. The attention of the entire country is focussed on that State. Your success or failure will depend on how sincerely you work and create confidence in the minorities. Solution to the problem of Ram-Janam-Bhoomi—Babri Masjid can be sought only through discussion. If you do not succeed in solving this issue through negotiations, you may adopt the same course that we had adopted, but how sincerely you do, would be known afterwards .. (*interruptions*).

SHRI SHREESH CHANDRA DIKSHIT (Varanasi): Talks should be held with whom? Those who were holding the talks have left it in the middle .. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI DIGVIJAY SINGH: Mr. Speaker, Sir, they signed the agreement. They put their signatures on the agreement in November, 1989. It was decided at that time that if they were permitted to lay the foundation stone, they would not touch the masjid until the court gives its verdict in the matter. How can you deny this? Again they are indulging in double standards—the agreement was signed, foundation stone was laid and even then they are working against the promise Their intention is not to resolve the Ram-Janam Bhoomi-Babri Masjid issue. Their purpose is to secure votes only and their interest is to exploit the sentiments of the people for their benefit. I would like to point out here in the House the conduct of the P.A.C. of Uttar Pradesh. The character of the Provincial Armed Constabulary of Uttar Pradesh, may be Shri Dikshit would have contributed much in that during his tenure as D.G.P. in Uttar Pradesh, has been very much communal. This has created a lack of confidence in the system, among the Muslim brethren. I, therefore, support the formation of the Rapid-Action-Force as the Hon.President has mentioned in his Address.

We do not approve their above attitude. We are in favour of the reservation for the Backward classes. But for which the Backward classes it should be made? Should the benefit of reservation be given to the lakhs of the millionaire families of the backward classes? No, not at all. The Congress Party in its resolution in the working committee has made it clear that there should be reservation for the backward classes but that should be made on the basis of both the caste and the economic condition. It would be meaningless if it is given to the children of the Income-tax payers' families. It is worthless when it is extended to the children of the high class persons like Chandra Jeetji.

When our Congress Government was there in Madhya Pradesh, we had constituted the Mahajan Commission and we had given the benefit of reservation on caste and economic basis. Here we differ with our Janata Dal colleagues as they have tried to make a political capital out of the Mandal Commission. They did not work for the progress of the backward classes ..(*Interruptions*). Mr. Speaker, Sir, had they been honest in their approach to help the backward classes they should have adopted the economic criterion also besides the caste-basis.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the condition of the agricultural labourers of this country is very pitiable. Our former Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi had constituted a commission under the Chairmanship of Shri Jinda Bhaiji Vedji for the agricultural labourers. We have no information whether it has submitted its report or not but this country does require an extensive programme for the economic upliftment of the crores of the agricultural labourers who are unable even to get the minimum wages. I, therefore, request you, specially the Government either to revive the commission or make some special programme for this purpose .. (*Interruptions*).

18.00 hrs.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Provincial Armed Constabulary must therefore be disbanded immediately in order to instil confidence among the minorities of the country, specially among the Muslim brethren in Uttar Pradesh, and in its place a force providing adequate representation to each caste and community should be set up. Sir, the communal riots have become a routine affair. So, the Government should lay down a definite criterion for providing compensation to the riot-victims. We came across several cases where loss was in lakhs but a petty amount of merely one or two thousand rupees was paid as compensation. Therefore, the Government should take some initiative in this regard.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to say a few words about the Madhya Pradesh Government because that Government reflects the very characteristic of the Bhartiya Janta Party. All the decisions taken by that Government go in the favour of the businessmen only. As far examples, sales-tax was reduced and the interest of the Tendu-leave dealers was protected but on the other hand the interests of the labourers and the farmers were given a severe below there .. (*Interruption*). There are so many incidents in Madhya Pradesh where the Bhartiya Janata Party, keeping aside all the conventions and propriety, took certain wrong steps and as a result, they had to face un-favourable results during the last Lok Sabha election.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, something should be done for the backward classes, we all are in favour of it. We do not have any objection regarding that, but there are many controversial points in the Mandal Commission Report itself. The Members of the Commission have themselves highlighted these controversial points and a number of things mentioned in the report have been rejected by the Members of the Commission themselves.

I want to extend hearty-congratulations to the Hon. Prime Minister for his speech yesterday wherein he made a specific mention about the Public Distribution System. The need of the hour is that the benefit of the Public Distribution System should be given only to the families who are living below the poverty-line. Those families should be given identity cards so that they may be able to get benefit of that system.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, today, I realise the need of the decentralization whether it may be political or administrative. For that purpose the former Prime Minister, Hon. Rajiv Gandhi had made attempts to bring the Panchayati Raj Act and the Municipality Act. It is necessary to introduce the policy of decentralisation to solve the unnumerable problems of this country. The Sarkaria Commission submitted its report but no serious and honest consideration has been given to it. Sir, I, therefore, would like to request the Government through you to take steps for bringing political and administrative decentralisation in order to solve various problems of the country.

Sir, in the President's Address there is no mention about the Judicial reforms and on this point I fully agree with my Hon. friend Shri Somnath Chatterjee, who has pointed out that the people are losing confidence in the judicial system of this country. Hon. Rajivji had tried to take some initiative to restore the public faith in the system and he had considered it thoroughly and had referred to it at many places but there is no mention about it in the President's Address. I consider it a very regrettable matter and firmly believe that the Hon. Prime Minister will examine it in depth.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, our leftist friend Hon. Shri Somnath referred to Tatas, and Birlas here, but keeping the present economic condition in view, we should think about our country by deviating a bit from our preconceived ideas. The West Bengal Government has no objection in running the company at Haldia in collaboration with Tatas but they do not want to change their opinion about Tata and Birla. They would have to change their opinion and be a bit practical.

[*English*]

SHRI SRIKANTA JENA (Cuttak) : Spell out the details.

SHRI DIGVIJAY SINGH : My dear friend, if you are so aversive to Tatas and Birlas why did the West Bengal Government . . (*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

SHRI SRIKANTA JENA : Have you heard the speech of Shri Rabi Ray?

SHRI DIGVIJAY SINGH : Yes, I have and I have heard the speech of Shri Somnath Chatterjee also. Keeping in view the Constitution of the tenth Lok-Sabha, if we do not rise above our narrow and partisan ideas and do not think of the national issues, we shall not do justice to our voters. It will be a sort of injustice to them. Mr. Speaker, Sir, this is not a political need. It is immaterial whether our Government in power or not. But if we do not consider collectively national issues, neither the history nor the people will spare us. This is my submission.

[*English*]

MR. SPEAKER : The House stands adjourned to reassemble tomorrow at 11.00 A.M.

18.08 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, July 17, 1991/*Asadha* 26, 1913 (*Saka*).

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